February 1959

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

An Analysis of Sect Development — *Bryan R. Wilson*

Information, Authority, and Military Organization — *M. D. Feld*

A Typology of Voluntary Associations — *C. Wayne Gordon and Nicholas Babchuk*

Role Conceptions and Organizational Size — *Edwin J. Thomas*

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Race, Ethnicity, and Achievement — *Bernard C. Rosen*

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Power Structure and the Negro Sub-Community — *Ernest A. T. Barth and Baha Abu-Laban*

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THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW is published at 49 Sheridan Avenue, Albany, New York, bi-monthly in February, April, June, August, October, and December.

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★ Subscription rate, $8.00. Single issues, $2.00. Membership dues of the American Sociological Society include subscription.

Four weeks' advance notice to the Executive Office, and old address as well as new, are necessary for change of subscriber's address.

Second class postage paid at Albany, N. Y.

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American
SOCIOLOGICAL
Review

February
1959

Volume 24
Number 1

AN ANALYSIS OF SECT DEVELOPMENT

BRYAN R. WILSON
The University of Leeds, England

The maintenance of original value orientations and of pristine character is a crucial problem area encountered by institutions, particularly in the face of changing external or internal social circumstances. The tensions engendered in such conditions are clearly evident in sects, which provide a valuable institutional type for analysis, in that they have an explicit value commitment, are clearly circumscribed organizations, and are peculiarly self-conscious of their relations with the wider society. Some sects are markedly successful in the preservation of undiluted values of protest; others, notably those which gradually become denominationalized, are much less so. This paper seeks to distinguish and characterize distinctive types of sect, and to use such characterizations to determine the specific elements, and combinations of elements, which promote or retard such development.

THE tendency for sects to become denominations has frequently been noted, and on the basis of this tendency the generalization has sometimes been made that a sect-type organization can exist for only one generation, that in the second generation the sect (and the cult in Becker's use of the term) becomes a church or a denomination.[1] Yet, if one survey existing religious organizations, it is evident that, in both the sociological and the everyday use of the term, some sects persist as such over several generations. In view of the fact that some sects have undeniably gravitated towards a denominational structure, however, we need to know just what factors in the organization and circumstances of sects promote or retard this development.[2] Since sects are not all of a piece, we need to distinguish and delineate certain sub-types which should prove of greater predictive utility than does the grosser concept of the sect, and with which we may pass from crude hypothesis to more fully developed theory. Once these sub-types have been identified we may turn to the elements in sect organization which are focal points of tension. It is here hypothesized that

[1] H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, New York: Holt, 1929, p. 19; Howard Becker, *Systematic Sociology on the Basis of the Beziehungslehre and Gebildelehre of Leopold von Wiese*, New York: Wiley, 1932; Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942, pp. 118 ff.

[2] J. M. Yinger, *Religion in the Struggle for Power*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1946, suggested an alternative development for the sect, into an "established sect." More recently Yinger has suggested that established sects develop because they emphasize the evil nature of society, while denominationalizing sects are those which stress the reduction of individual anxiety and guilt—a conclusion generally consistent with the analysis proposed here; see Yinger's *Religion, Society and the Individual*, New York: Macmillan, 1957, pp. 151–152. Recognition of the limitations of the Niebuhr hypothesis is offered in the context of a discussion somewhat different from the above by Benton Johnson, "A Critical Appraisal of Church-Sect Typology," *American Sociological Review* 22 (February, 1957), pp. 88–92. For another approach to this process, see Harold W. Pfautz, "The Sociology of Secularization: Religious Groups," *American Journal of Sociology* 61 (September, 1955), pp. 121–128.

sects experience different types of tension which vary according to their own constellation of values, as well as the circumstances of their origin. In response to such tensions, in the attempt at their management, we may expect to find the genesis of processes which cause some sects to develop into denominations, others to wither, some to be exterminated, some to fragment, and some to remain, over several generations, as sects.[3] This paper considers the following elements: the circumstances of sect emergence, the internal structure of sect organization, the degree of separateness from the external world, the coherence of sect values, and group commitments and relationships.

CHARACTERIZATION OF SECT AND DENOMINATION

Typically a *sect* may be identified by the following characteristics: it is a voluntary association; membership is by proof to sect authorities of some claim to personal merit—such as knowledge of doctrine, affirmation of a conversion experience, or recommendation of members in good standing; exclusiveness is emphasized, and expulsion exercised against those who contravene doctrinal, moral, or organizational precepts; its self-conception is of an elect, a gathered remnant, possessing special enlightenment; personal perfection is the expected standard of aspiration, in whatever terms this is judged; it accepts, at least as an ideal, the priesthood of all believers; there is a high level of lay participation; there is opportunity for the member spontaneously to express his commitment; the sect is hostile or indifferent to the secular society and to the state.[4]

In elaboration of this general identification of the sect, it might be added that although sects differ among themselves in their characteristic social relationships, the commitment of the sectarian is always more total and more defined than that of the member of other religious organizations. The ideology of the sect is much more clearly crystallized, and the member is much more distinctly characterized than is the adherent of the larger denomination or church. The behavioral correlates of his ideological commitment also serve to set him and keep him apart from "the world." Sects have a totalitarian rather than a segmental hold over their members: they dictate the member's ideological orientation to secular society; or they rigorously specify the necessary standards of moral rectitude; or they compel the member's involvement in group activity. Ideological conformity may be achieved by compulsory participation, but the system of control varies widely.[5] Not only does the sect discipline or expel the member who entertains heretical opinions, or commits a moral misdemeanor, but it regards such defection as betrayal of the cause, unless confession of fault and appeal for forgiveness is forthcoming.

The *denomination,* in contrast, shows the following features: it is formally a voluntary association; it accepts adherents without imposition of traditional prerequisites of entry, and employs purely formalized procedures of admission; breadth and tolerance are emphasized; since membership is laxly enrolled, expulsion is not a common device for dealing with the apathetic and the wayward; its self-conception is unclear and its doctrinal position unstressed; it is content to be one movement among others, all of which are thought to be acceptable in the sight of God; it accepts the standards and values of the prevailing culture and conventional morality; there is a trained professional ministry; lay participation occurs but is typically restricted to particular sections of the laity and to particular areas of activity; services are formalized and spontaneity is absent; education of the young is of greater concern than the

[3] The type of analysis to be followed owes much to the work and the suggestions of Philip Selznick; see especially his book, *The Organizational Weapon,* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952.

[4] The characterization of the sect here proposed is in many respects more general than the "type-constructs" offered by Becker, Yinger, and Pope in the works cited above, and by E. D. C. Brewer, "Sect and Church in Methodism," *Social Forces* 30 (May, 1952), pp. 400–408. It omits such characteristics as subjectivism, informality, the expression of fervor, and poverty, since these characteristics appear to belong to certain sub-types only.

[5] Thus in Christian Science, for example, doctrinal purity is maintained without members being compelled to participate in an intense round of group activity. Illustrative material is largely from the writer's own research into sects and sect literature in England; for these cases and for cases where the facts are widely known or well established, specific citations are omitted.

evangelism of the outsider; additional activities are largely non-religious in character; individual commitment is not very intense; the denomination accepts the values of the secular society and the state; members are drawn from any section of the community, but within one church, or any one region, membership will tend to limit itself to those who are socially compatible.[6]

CHARACTERIZATION OF TYPES OF SECT

Given these general types of organization, we need to distinguish the sub-types of sects.[7] The basis of the present classification is the characterization of types of mission which might be discerned among sects. Generally these types of mission rest on the ideological and doctrinal character of sects, and serve as useful indicators of the clusters of other characteristics to be found in each type. For our purposes, within the framework of Protestant Christianity, four broad types may be discerned. Such a classification is not necessarily exhaustive, nor necessarily exclusive of alternative types. It rests essentially on the response of the sect to the values and relationships prevailing in society. This response, in the nature of sectarianism as we have already described it, is necessarily one of greater or lesser rejection. The *Conversionist* sects seek to alter men, and thereby to alter the world; the response is free-will optimism. The *Adventist* sects predict drastic alteration of the world, and seek to prepare for the new dispensation—a pessimistic determinism. The *Introversionists* reject the world's values and replace them with higher inner values, for the realization of which inner resources are cultivated. The *Gnostic* sects accept in large measure the world's goals but seek a new and esoteric means to achieve these ends—a wishful mysticism. This classification is sociological rather than psychological; the responses are built into particular institutions. The implications of these four depictions are elaborated in the following characterizations, and although the empirical correlates of each type are not explored, the implications themselves are not simply logical extensions of the hypothesized types of response. What is here suggested is that, given particular responses *within the context of Christianity*, these further corollaries may be expected.[8]

1. The Conversionist sect is one whose teaching and activity centers on evangelism; in contemporary Christianity it is typically the orthodox fundamentalist or pentecostal sect. It is typified by extreme bibliolatry: the Bible is taken as the only guide to salvation,

[6] This characterization of the denomination stresses many points similar to those suggested by Pope, *op. cit.*, pp. 120 ff., but avoids making a direct comparison of sect traits and denominational traits, as well as the implication that sect characteristics automatically undergo mutation and become denominational traits.

[7] An earlier categorization of sects is offered by E. T. Clark in *The Small Sects in America*, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1937, which uses rather diverse criteria, including attitudinal, doctrinal, and organizational elements. In the classification offered here the distinction advanced by Howard Becker, *op. cit.*, between sects and cults, and more recently employed by V. E. Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955, is abandoned; movements styled as cults by Becker and Mann are here subsumed in a more generalized typification of the sect, and as a subtype would figure principally among gnostic sects. For an extremely suggestive classification of sects, which has come to my notice since this paper was written, but which shares certain similarities with the categorization here proposed, see Peter L. Berger, "The Sociological Study of Sectarianism," *Social Research* 21 (Winter, 1954), pp. 467–485.

[8] The basic types of response here proposed may be compared to the typology of modes of individual adaptation in Robert K. Merton's "Social Structure and Anomie" (*Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957, pp. 131 ff.). There is some correspondence between introversionist sects and the retreatist response, revolutionist sects and the rebellious response, and gnostic sects and the innovative type. Merton's conformist case is clearly not appropriate to sects, nor is the ritualist, unless one admits some schisms of the Catholic church and even then the case is doubtful. See also, Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time*, New York: Norton, 1937.

It is clear that a given sect may well shift in its response to the external society, and whilst remaining a protest group, alter the terms of its protest. Our analysis here is primarily concerned with the process of accommodation—the conditions under which sects become denominations or fail to do so. A development unexplored here is the sect which, whilst remaining a sect, changes character by changing its response; frequently the shift will be of emphasis rather than of complete transformation. There is some evidence to show that revolutionist sects, under circumstances of external duress, have altered their response to one of introversion. The processes here involved would require further analysis in the light of the sociological variables underlying such changes, both as internal and external factors.

and is accepted as literally true. Conversion experience and the acceptance of Jesus as a personal saviour is the test of admission to the fellowship; extreme emphasis is given to individual guilt for sin and the need to obtain redemption through Christ. Despite the theoretical limit on the number who can gain salvation, the sect precludes no one and revivalist techniques are employed in evangelism. It is distrustful of, or indifferent towards, the denominations and churches which at best have diluted, and at worst betrayed, Christianity; it is hostile to clerical learning and especially to modernism; it is opposed to modern science, particularly to geology and to evolutionary theories; it disdains culture and the artistic values accepted in the wider society. Examples are to be found in the Salvation Army and the Pentecostal sects.

2. The Adventist—or revolutionist—sect focuses attention on the coming overturn of the present world order: in contemporary Christianity it is the adventist movement. It is typified by its emphasis on the Bible, and particularly of its exegesis of the allegorical and prophetic books from which the time and circumstances of the second advent of Christ is discerned. The conventional eschatological ideas of heaven and hell are regarded as false, and the resurrection of the dead for judgment is accepted as the principal eschatological event. Christ is regarded as a divine commander, not only as a saviour, and a high moral standard is based on the moral precepts of Jesus. Participation in the new kingdom will be limited and only those who have maintained doctrinal and moral rectitude will be eligible; admission to the fellowship is by thorough understanding of necessary doctrine, and not by affirmation of conversion. Evangelism is undertaken by way of preaching the word but quick conversions are not sought and revivalism is despised as emotional and misguided. The established church is regarded as fulfilling the role of the anti-Christ: clerical learning is despised (but science is depreciated only in so far as its doctrines conflict with adventist biblical exegesis) and the professional ministry is vigorously opposed. Separation from the world is a more crucial interdiction than are restrictions placed upon certain worldly activities. The sect is hostile towards the wider society and looks forward to its overthrow.[9] Examples are Jehovah's Witnesses and the Christadelphians.

3. The Introversionist—or pietist—sect directs the attention of its followers away from the world and to the community and more particularly to the members' possession of the Spirit; in recent Christianity it is exemplified in the pietist sect. Such a sect is typified by reliance on inner illumination, whether this be regarded as the voice of conscience or the action of the Holy Ghost. The Bible is a source or stimulant of inner inspiration and ethical insight; doctrine is of lesser importance in that the letter has surrendered to the spirit, the deepening of which is a central preoccupation. The sect develops a particular *Weltanschauung* and considers itself an enlightened elect; inner values may be regarded as incommunicable and eschatological ideas are unarticulated or of little significance. No evangelism is undertaken and a strong ingroup morality is developed; the sect withdraws from the world, or allows its members to be active in the world only for human betterment at the behest of conscience and at the periphery of social concern. It is indifferent to other religious movements. It admits of no spiritual directors or ministers. Examples include some Holiness movements, Quakers, and the Society of the Truly Inspired (Amana Community).

4. The Gnostic sect emphasizes some special body of teaching of an esoteric kind. In contemporary Christianity it is a sect offering a new or revived interpretation of Christian teaching. It accepts the Bible as allegorical and complementary to its own gnosis; conventional Christian eschatology is replaced by a more optimistic and esoteric eschatology; Christ is a wayshower, an exemplar of truth, rather than a saviour. Christian mystical teachings, such as the Trinity, are replaced by other more exclusive mysticism, the significance of which the adherent

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[9] The similarities of the adventist type sect and the revolutionary political movement have been brought out by Donald G. MacRae in "The Bolshevik Ideology," *The Cambridge Journal*, 3 (December, 1954), pp. 164–177, and are also dealt with in Bryan R. Wilson, *Minority Religious Movements in Modern Britain* (forthcoming). See also Werner Cohn, "Jehovah's Witnesses as a Proletarian Movement," *The American Scholar*, 24 (Summer, 1955), pp. 281–298.

can hope only gradually to penetrate; doctrine includes teachings which replace secular scientific explanations, and offer a cosmology, an anthropology, and a psychology of their own. The utility of the gnosis for everyday life is emphasized, particularly in the achievement of worldly success, self-realization, health, material well-being and happiness. Conversion is an alien concept to the Gnostic sect, but instruction and guidance is offered to the outsider or the neophyte; there are stages in understanding: enlightenment "unfolds." There is a charismatic leader (or a succession of such leaders) who pronounces wisdom; ministers are usually styled as teachers or guides, and ministerial functions are subdivided among laity with appropriate qualification. Other churches are regarded with indifference as ignorant or backward; secular knowledge is seen as valid and useful relatively, except where it contravenes sect teaching. The cultural standards of the society are accepted and even utilized: the Gnostic sectarian does not withdraw from the world but seeks to use his special knowledge for his own advancement, or that of the movement, in the world. These traits are found, for example, in Christian Science, New Thought sects, Koreshanity, and the Order of the Cross.[10]

CIRCUMSTANCES OF SECT EMERGENCE

The conditions under which sects emerge may, for analytical purposes, be divided into three elements: the method by which the sect comes into being, the specific factors of stimulus, and the external social conditions prevailing.

1. The principal methods of sect emergence are by spontaneous development around a local charismatic leader, by schism, and by organized revival. In the case of a sect emerging around a leader much will depend on his teaching and his organizational ability. Some such sects disappear when the leader dies or departs. Others, particularly those in which the leader offers a new gnosis which is consonant with the age, spread and retain their identity. The gnosis may be a new combination of ideas or the retailing of older ideas to a new audience.[11] Thus the optimism, feminism, and success-orientation of the New Thought sects and of Christian Science fitted well with American ideals at the end of the nineteenth century. If the leader offers a variant of traditional Christianity, however, then such a group is likely to remain local and, if persisting, eventually to make common cause with other fundamentalist movements or with the fundamentalist wing of one of the larger denominations, usually the Baptists. Many independent missions of this type joined with the pentecostal sects in England during the first three decades of this century. But if such sects spread they appear to be particularly likely to become denominationalized, as the distinctive needs of members change—assuming that there is no constant stream of new admissions to keep alive the pristine spirit of the movement.

The schismatic sect tends to be vigorous as long as its protest against the parent body remains significant, and as long as the rival group exists as a challenge; in this period it is likely to grow only by accretions from the parent body. Subsequently, as the issue of disagreement wanes in importance, such a schismatic group may adjust to continuance as a sect, may decay in the absence of opposition, or may partially and gradually rejoin the parent body. Illustrations of such processes are afforded in the history of the Plymouth Brethren in England, and of the Christadelphians in England, the United States, Canada, and Australia.

Organized revival is the method of development most usual to fundamentalist sects, and may well begin in a non-denominational spirit. Success, however, tends to

[10] The types here hypothesized are primarily Christian, and each type finds some support within Christian scriptures. Whether such a classification could be usefully employed for other major religions is doubtful in that, although revolutionist and intraversionist sects appear to be common to many religions, and the gnostic sects occur in some, conversionism is perhaps less widespread. The situation is sometimes confused with regard to the relative positions of orthodoxy and sectarianism, and by the difference between the relationship of religion and the state which prevails in many non-Christian countries and the pattern which has generally obtained in the West.

[11] This syncretistic approach is typical of gnostic sects: many such movements have drawn on diverse sources for their teachings. See, for example, Bryan R. Wilson, "The Origins of Christian Science," *The Hibbert Journal*, forthcoming.

impose organizational responsibilities and, if there are distinctive teachings, sects tend to emerge. The Full Gospel Testimony and the Elim Foursquare Gospel Church in England are examples of this development, the teachings being pentecostal. Such groups usually experience rapid growth and high turnover of personnel; since they rely on revivalists for stability and permanence there is, in the nature of the case, an acceptance of trained functionaries, and in this respect a tendency towards denominational development.

2. The specific factors of stimulus of sect emergence are usually found in the stresses and tensions differentially experienced within the total society. Change in the economic position of a particular group (which may be a change only in relative position); disturbance of normal social relations, for instance in the circumstances of industrialization and urbanization; the failure of the social system to accommodate particular age, sex, and status groups—all of these are possible stimuli in the emergence of sects. These are the needs to which sects, to some extent, respond. Particular groups are rendered marginal by some process of social change; there is a sudden need for a new interpretation of their social position or for a transvaluation of their experience. Insecurity, differential status anxiety, cultural neglect, prompt a need for readjustment which sects may, for some, provide. The maladjusted may be communities, or occupational groups, or dispersed individuals in similar marginal positions. The former cases are more typical for the emergence of Conversionist, Adventist, and Introversionist groups, the latter for the Gnostic sects. Sudden social dislocation, as experienced in urbanization and industrialization, appears to be a frequent circumstance in which Conversionist sects emerge, while Adventists and Introversionists have arisen in the midst of longer persisting deprivation.

3. The external social conditions are not easily distinguished from the stimulus factors considered above, but taken in their widest sense it is evident that there are different consequences for sects according to the political and moral character of the society in which they emerge. In feudal, authoritarian, or totalitarian societies, the sect is persecuted; if it persists it will do so only as a clandestine organization. It will tend to be hostile to the world (whether or not this was its original orientation) and may, in reality or in fantasy, project this hostility upon society. The very early Quakers, the Fifth Monarchy Men, and the numerous pietist and millennial movements in Europe from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries, illustrate this reaction.[12] An alternative development in the past has been for the sect to migrate and seek an environment where it could live according to its own standards. The achievement of such isolation has, in itself, consequences for sect organization and promotes communistic arrangements. Examples here are the Rappites, Amana Society, and other movements flourishing in eighteenth and nineteenth century America after migrating from Germany.[13] In such circumstances, to which more specific reference is made below, the sect is unlikely to show marked denominational tendencies.

In democratic or pluralist societies the sect is not pushed into the search for isolation, and although revolutionary type movements (Adventist) may emerge, they are likely to maintain their separation from the world by other methods. Clearly, during rapid social change the various stimulus factors discussed above are more likely to become operative, and it is empirically well established that sects proliferate in periods of social unrest. In this connection, some very general propositions have been offered on the basis of data drawn from the United States in the period from 1800 to the present time. This was a society undergoing almost uninterrupted expansion, rapid social change, high mobility, intense urbanization, and successive waves of immigration (from which its proletariat was continually re-recruited). In face of these developments the original social values were undergoing constant modification through differential acceptance by diverse ethnic and religious groups. In short, this was a highly atypical context from which to make

[12] On European millennial movements see Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, London: Secker and Warburg, 1957.

[13] For a recent brief account of such movements, see Henri Desroche, "Micromillenarismes et Communautorismes Utopique en Amérique du Nord du XVII[e] au XIX[e] Siècle," *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, 4 (Juillet–Décembre, 1957), pp. 57–92.

generalizations concerning the development of sects. The absence of tradition and of stable class differences, the promotion of denominational competition, and the expectation of growth and development resulted in extreme accommodation which helped sects rapidly to evolve into denominations—almost as part of a "success-pattern." In this situation even the Quakers could develop a schism which accepted a ministry and became virtually a denomination. The external social circumstances, rather than the intrinsic nature of the sect as such, must here be invoked to explain why sects become denominations.[14]

THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF SECT ORGANIZATION

A feature of sects in contemporary society is that they tend to develop some sort of centralized organization, however minimal. This development has been prompted by the need for communication between dispersed communities, the increase in mobility, and the growing impact of legislation on sects, particularly in wartime. Central organization in itself, however, is not to be equated with a denominational tendency, since central control may be effectively employed to prevent such trends, as with Jehovah's Witnesses.[15] On the other hand, such agencies may be a departure from the original sect ideal—their development may be a response to some external threat to the sect's values, but they also imply the surrender of other values. The most significant question about this development would seem to be whether or not those who acquire responsibilities in the central agencies of the sect become professional *public* functionaries —where functions become institutionally differentiated and specialization of roles occurs.

The initial position of the sect, where there is no local charismatic leader, is the occupation of offices by members in rotation, by lot, or by seniority, and subsequently to institute the lay leader, usually chosen by the group for his particular abilities. Once the concept of special training of such leaders is admitted, then a step to denominationalism has been taken. Training implies lack of parity between leaders and members, it compromises the radical democracy of the sect and the ideal of the priesthood of all believers. Spontaneity disappears, and leaders employ the status symbols of their profession, seeking equal esteem with the pastors of other movements.[16]

Such a radical departure from sect values does not normally occur abruptly, nor does denominational character rest on this one factor alone. Obviously, different types of sect show a different proclivity to this development. We can fully expect sects highly concerned with evangelism and revivalism to be most prone to evolve in this way. If missionaries and revivalists are being supported by the group, the value of special training is likely to be accepted and will probably be provided within and by the organization itself. The economies of scale may well induce the movement to train more people than can readily be absorbed in the mission field, or than can be supported there, whilst there is also a limit to the number of active revivalists who can operate on behalf of a particular movement. The replacement of local lay pastors by trained ministers is then a likely consequence. Something like this sequence can be seen in the development of pentecostal sects in Britain. Of other groups, the sect known as the Church of God in the British Isles and Overseas has full-time itinerant revivalists who preach in the meeting houses in place of local lay leaders. This development may be regarded as a stage in the same general process, retarded in this instance by the sect's strong anti-ministerial ideology.

This type of development is most probable in the Conversionist sects. The orthodox fundamentalist sect stands nearest to traditional Christianity and may have had its own

[14] For a discussion of internal and external factors in a clinical, as distinct from a typological, examination of sect development, see Bryan R. Wilson, "Apparition et Persistence des Sectes dans un Milieu Social en évolution," *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, 5 (Janvier–Juin, 1958), pp. 140–150.

[15] See H. H. Stroup, *Jehovah's Witnesses*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945; also E. Royston Pike, *Jehovah's Witnesses*, London: Watts, 1954; Werner Cohn, *op. cit.*

[16] The equivocal position of the ministry emerging within a sect which is undergoing transformation to a denomination, is discussed in Bryan R. Wilson, "Role Conflicts and Status Contradictions of the Pentecostal Minister," *American Journal of Sociology* (forthcoming).

origins in some larger movement with a ministry, whose organization might be accepted even if its teachings are rejected. The Adventist sect resists organizational change in its confident expectation of an early end to the present dispensation and is, in any case, hostile to any institution associated with the established order. Similarly, the pietist (Introversionist) sect is ideologically resistant to the development of a ministry and, moreover, is not concerned with evangelism. In that the adventists evangelize they do so without the use of revivalist techniques. The Gnostic sect, while usually instituting a system of special instruction, does so for the private and personal benefit of the member and not as a qualification for any particular office in the movement, even though in practice the more highly taught are likely to gain easier admission to leadership positions. Worship is not usually of major importance to the Gnostic sect and when professional functionaries do arise they are more likely to be private counsellors than public ministers.

Elites emerge in sects both at the local level and, once centralized agencies have arisen, also at the center. They may be elected by the generality, but they tend to become self-recruiting both locally and at the center. Central control of local leaders may also occur, and when it does the local elite will be the group which interprets, explains, and rationalizes the activity of the central group. In such movements there is a distinct centripetal tendency of responsibility: allegiance is to "headquarters," "the central board," "the executive." Christian Science and Jehovah's Witnesses both typify this organizational structure. The existence of such elites has no specific implication for the development of the sect into a denomination for the crucial matters are whether the elite is specially trained and whether its function becomes that of a professional ministry. What may be noted, however, is that centralized movements appear to be better able to prevent schism than movements in which the central agencies are less well articulated and in which centripetal responsibility has not developed.

Schism is a feature of sects and of churches more than of denominations (except in the early period of denominational development). (This is partly because sects and churches tend to possess a much more clearly articulated structure of doctrine and organization than do denominations.) Otherwise, schism usually centers on the question of purity of doctrine, and successful schism usually finds its leader in the very inner elite of the movement.[17] Schism of this kind serves to preserve the distinctive sectarian character of the organization since the schismatic groups tend to become the keepers of each other's consciences in relation to the maintenance of traditional values. The two groups compete for the same public, and frequently appeal to the same sources and authorities in legitimation of their position, thus engendering a competitive struggle to prove the purity of their doctrine and social practice. The Plymouth Brethren, the Mennonites, and the Christadelphians provide illustrations of this development.

DEGREE OF SEPARATENESS FROM THE WORLD

The relationship which a sect permits itself and its members to the external world is of vital importance to the nature of its continuance. In some measure, and by some methods, the sect is committed to keeping itself "unspotted from the world": its distinctness must be evident both to its own members and to others. To this end there are two principal types of mechanism, *isolation* and *insulation*. Isolation may be consciously designed, or unconsciously accepted. It may be vicinal isolation in which social isolation is necessarily implied, but this is readily achieved only by groups which accept a communistic type of organization; such organization, in turn, acts as a further isolating device. Sects which have aspired to be self-contained in this way, and have sought to avoid the "alien" even in those spheres where most sects are prepared to treat with him, have usually been of the Introversionist type. Clearly, such a radical mechanism for the achievement of self-maintenance would mean too profound a change in sect character for Conversionist

[17] For an excellent illustration of this point, see A. K. Swihart, *Since Mrs. Eddy*, New York: Holt, 1931; for further examples in Christian Science and other movements, see Wilson, "Minority Religious Movements . . ." *op. cit.*

sects, while the expectation of an early overturn of normal social relations makes such action premature for Adventists. Gnostic sects usually lack the community basis for such a venture and seek their separateness from the world in different ways. Isolation may also be linguistic, a condition illustrated by the various bodies of Mennonites, Hutterites, and Doukhobors. Finally, isolation may be simply the injunction to maintain social separateness from the alien; this is urged by most sects, even the evangelical.

Insulation consists of behavioral rules calculated to protect sect values by reducing the influence of the external world when contact necessarily occurs. Of course, insulation may be a latent function of the moral demands of sect teaching, the justification for which is biblical or revealed prescription; the sect leaders and the members themselves, however, often become aware of the real value of such precepts. Distinctive dress is such an insulating device, characteristic of some Mennonites, early Quakers, and Hutterites. Group endogamy is a more widely used method of insulation and is the rule for most Adventist and Introversionist sects, the expectation in many Conversionist sects, and the preferred form, if marriage is approved at all, in Gnostic sects.

THE COHERENCE OF SECT VALUES

Separateness from the world is clearly a part of the general constellation of values embraced by sects. The coherence of such values and the tensions which their acceptance involves are discussed below. However, it is analytically possible to distinguish between tensions arising from the conflict of this particular value and others embraced by the sect and the tensions resulting from the conflict between sect ideals and the ideals of the wider society, and ultimately with those of the state.

The principal tension between the demand for separateness and other sect values arises in the injunction, accepted by many sects, to go out and preach the gospel. Evangelism means exposure to the world and the risk of alienation of the evangelizing agents. It means also the willingness to accept into the sect new members. This throws a particular weight on the standards of admission if, through the impact of recruitment, the sect itself is not to feel the effect of members who are incompletely socialized from the sect's point of view. The more distinctive are sect dictrines and the more emphatic the insistence on strict standards of doctrinal understanding, the less likely it is that the sect will suffer from its evangelism. The Introversionist and Gnostic sects do not experience this type of tension since they do not evangelize the alien, or seek to do so only by formalized procedures. The Adventist sect regards it as one of its responsibilities to preach the kingdom, to forewarn the world of events portending, and to gather a remnant, but it sends its evangelizing agents into the world only after their doctrinal understanding has been thoroughly tested and their allegiance well tried. Equally it does not expect rapid returns, but subjects those who wish to join the movement to examination of their doctrinal knowledge. The Conversionist sects, which are fundamentalists, experience this tension most fully and have evolved least protection for themselves on these vulnerable points. Their agents are young, their doctrine often less sharply distinguished from that of the denominations, and their tests of good faith inadequate, subordinate to conversionist enthusiasm, and easily, if unwittingly, counterfeited by the emotionally overwrought in the revivalist situation.

The recruitment of the second generation is also an aspect of evangelism. There are similar problems of the tests of admission and the process of socializing the in-comers. Niebuhr, and subsequently Pope, pin-pointed a key tension for sect organization in recognizing the significance of accepting the second generation.[18] It is an oversimplification to say, however, that the second generation makes the sect into a denomination. As indicated above, such development depends on the standards of admission imposed by the sect, the previous rigor with which children have been kept separate from the world, and on the point at which a balance is struck between the natural desire of parents to have their children included in salvation and their awareness of the community view that any sort of salvation depends on the maintenance of doctrinal and moral standards. Obviously, whether the sect tends to

[18] Niebuhr, *op. cit.;* Pope, *op. cit.*

embrace whole families or simply individuals is a significant matter. In general, Gnostic sects, which tend to have an individualistic appeal and do not emphasize the normal type of separation from the world, have more difficulty in winning the allegiance of the second generation than have other sects. Pietistic and Adventist sects, enjoying both doctrinal distinctiveness and the allegiance of whole families (supported by endogamous injunctions) and also tending to have exacting standards for would-be joiners, are apt to hold their second generation without damage to sect identity. The fundamentalist Conversionist groups—who often appeal to individuals, have a less clearly articulated difference of doctrine from the denominations, and whose standards of admission are simple acceptance of a Saviour—are most likely to be affected by the degree of adherence of the second generation.[19]

The sect's desire to be separate from the world and its concerns—and the values which express that separateness—results in certain distinct tensions for the organization and for its members. For each sect there must be a position of optimal tension, where any greater degee of hostility against the world portends direct conflict, and any less suggests accommodation to worldly values. The typical issues of this conflict of values include: divergence of sect and external society on what constitutes true knowledge (which leads to conflict concerning education); the refusal of sects to recognize the legitimacy of society's legal arrangements and the refusal to accept conventionalized sacred practices such as oath-swearing; withdrawal of the sect from the political arrangements of society, refusal to vote, to salute national emblems, and the like; conscientious objection to participation in military activities of the state; the refusal to recognize the marital and familial regulations imposed by the state; objection to state medical regulations; disregard of economic institutions of society, as in the refusal to register land ownership or to join labor unions.

The means used by the sect to cope with these particular tensions is crucial for the persistence of sect organization. The sect may depart from the accepted moral rules of the wider society, but beyond a certain point the sect comes into conflict with even the democratic state in the pluralist society. The state does not always win in such conflicts, as the exemptions from oath-swearing, flag-saluting, military service, and medical regulation, all illustrate. But the sect itself, in pursuit of its values, in its search for exemption, may experience change of character. It must, for instance, develop agencies to treat with the state; to preserve its values it may be thrust into new types of social action, new contact with worldly organization—perhaps even fighting its case in the law courts of "the world," although this conflicts with the desire of most sects to be a law unto themselves. Action to reduce external tensions may in this way generate new internal tensions as the sect departs from older practices and values.

Thus when Christian Scientists joined with other unconventional healing movements to resist state legislation concerning medical care, they appeared, to some members, to compromise their stand that Christian Science alone could really heal. When, in Britain in the first World War, Christadelphians developed an organization to seek exemptions from military service, they allowed the activities of the state to induce them to establish committees at a national level, which conflicted with their ideal of minimal organization and prompted dissension and schism. When the Doukhobors, facing the demand of the state that it regulate its marriages and accept secular schooling, resort to arson and violence, they trespass on their own pacifist ideals.[20] Clearly in such cases of challenge and response there may readily be the beginnings of sect change in that the sect develops agencies more like those of denominations, and admits, by the back door, the values prevalent in the wider society.

If the sect is to persist as an organization it must not only separate its members from the world, but must also maintain the dissimilarity of its own values from those of the secular society. Its members must not

[19] Both Niebuhr and Pope base their generalizations on the examination of what we have called Conversionist sects; the present classification has thus prevented or decreased errors in prediction.

[20] On the Doukhobors, see H. B. Hawthorn, editor, *The Doukhobors of British Columbia*, University of British Columbia Press, 1955.

normally be allowed to accept the values of the status system of the external world. The sect must see itself as marginal to the wider society, and even when the marginality of extreme poverty, for example, has objectively disappeared, the consciousness of the inapplicability of the standards of the outside world must be retained. Whatever the changes in their material circumstances, the group must persist in the feeling of being a people a part if it is to persist. Status must be status within the sect, and this should be the only group to which the status-conscious individual makes reference. Yet for the proselytizing sect this is often accomplished only with difficulty since the social status of its members may radically affect its prospect of winning recruits. Even the sect of the very poor is usually pleased when a prominent personage is converted and often accords him a place of honor because of his status in the wider society. The classic cases of sects developing into denominations (usually accompanied by schism from the parent body on the part of those poorer members who resist the growth of formality and other denominational characteristics) illustrate just such a conflict of sect values: between genuine separateness from the world and the desire for social respectability.[21]

As we have seen, the Adventist and Introversionist sects are more fully insulated against this type of value conflict. Nor does this type of tension occur in the Gnostic sects which insulate the two areas ideologically by teaching, in many cases, that the material world is less real. Although the member might gain status in the group if improvement in his material circumstances can be attributed to his special sect-inculcated knowledge, still the two levels of experience are clearly distinguished.

Finally, we may note the significance of exclusiveness in the development of sects. The more fully the sect sees itself as a chosen remnant, the more fully will it offer resistance to the broadening process which is implied in becoming a denomination. Such resistance is more likely to be successful, however, if the sect has an aristocratic ethic concerning salvation—if it sees itself as a chosen elect, limited in size by divine command. Sects which emphasize free-will and the availability of Christ to all (even if they accompany such a teaching with an expectation that not many will in fact avail themselves of the opportunity), and which thus accept a general Arminian position theologically, are much more likely to practice evangelism and to seek rapid growth than are the others.[22] The Conversionist sects inherit this theological position and accept this mission, whereas the Adventist sects, who accept the command to preach the truth, nonetheless make truth difficult to obtain. Both Introversionist and Gnostic sects emphasize a gradual unfolding of grace or truth to the individual; although, particularly in the Gnostic groups, there is no sense of absolute exclusiveness, in both types there is an emphasis on an elect.

GROUP COMMITMENTS AND RELATIONSHIPS

At some level the individual member's commitment to the sect must be total. This may mean the acceptance of a leader's commands, or a general ideological commitment, or a more specific doctrinal commitment, or a commitment to regulate all social and moral affairs entirely as the sect directs. In the Gnostic sect commitment tends to be

[21] The history of Methodism, the Church of the Nazarene, and some Pentecostal groups illustrate this process. See, for example, E. D. C. Brewer, *op. cit.;* W. R. Goldschmidt, "Class Denominationalism in Rural California Churches," *American Journal of Sociology,* 49 (January, 1944), pp. 348–355; Oliver R. Whitley, "The Sect to Denomination Process in an American Religious Movement: The Disciples of Christ," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* 36 (December, 1955), pp. 275–282.

[22] Arminian type theology, as distinct from Calvinism, would appear to be a significant factor in promoting the growth of sect to denomination; Benton Johnson's statement (*op. cit.*), that this development is largely confined to voluntarist Calvinist sects, is in need of clarification. That some Calvinist groups could pass from sect to established church was made possible by the unusual circumstances of the settlement by sectarians of new territories. (It is doubtful whether the establishment of the Calvinist church at Geneva could be described as a sect-to-church process.) Elsewhere the Calvinist sects which developed into denominations did so only as their Calvinism gave way to a more Arminian and less exclusive teaching, as with the Baptists in England. Those groups which have retained Calvinistic teaching in anything like its pristine rigor have not fully experienced denominational development, e.g., the Strict and Particular Baptists whose organization remains essentially sectarian in character.

simply to the leader or to the general ideological position of the movement; the member must acquire the *Weltanschauung* of the sect if benefit of its special gnosis is to be gained. There are few moral correlates of this ideological position, and those which do exist are typically personal aids to self-fulfilment, for example, abstinence in matters of diet and in use of drugs, tobacco, and alcohol. The Introversionist sects (which may or may not have recognized leaders, and whose leaders may or may not claim distinctive charisma) add to the commitment of the member a distinct moral commitment: certain types of behavior are expected, and there is a strong commitment to the fellowship itself. The Adventist group demands commitment to specific doctrine and specific morality, which further implies commitment to the brethren themselves. The Conversionist sects, while expecting doctrinal and moral rectitude, are less sharply exclusive in demands towards the fellowship as such and are even prepared to extend their general idea of community to embrace "all born-again believers."

Introversionist and Adventist sects are distinctly *Gemeinschaften*. Fellowship is an important value for all members: fellow-members are "brethren;" relationships as far as possible are primary; the local meeting is a face-to-face group. The individual is a sect-member before he is anything else, he is expected to find his friends within the group, group endogamy is the rule, and there is expulsion of the wayward and lax. The membership is a membership of families rather than of individuals and sect values are mediated by the kin-group. The Introversionists are sharers of an inner and unseen truth; the Adventists are participants in revolutionary intrigue. The Conversionist sect shares these general characteristics only partially: its concept of brotherhood extends beyond sect boundaries and its standards are less rigorous. It accepts individuals more lightly, socializes them less intensely, and loses them more easily—all of which disturbs the strong sense of community. Its appeal is to the individual seeking salvation, and consequently it is less typically composed of families. The Gnostic sect is much more frankly a *Gesellschaft:* the individual's relationships to other devotees are secondary to his commitment to the ideology and the leadership. Brotherhood is an alien concept. Discipline is for disloyalty, not for specific moral misdemeanor. The impersonality of relationships may even be regarded as ideal, since the gnosis, "the principle," is what matters. Since there are fewer behavioral correlates of sect affiliation, the member, socially, may hide his membership and so avoid the disapproval of the outside world.

CONCLUSIONS

Our analysis has brought out a number of items which are subject to variation as between different types of sect and which help to determine the likely development of such movements. Thus it is clear that sects with a general democratic ethic, which stress simple affirmation of intense subjective experience as a criterion of admission, which stand in the orthodox fundamentalist tradition, which emphasize evangelism and use revivalist techniques, and which seek to accommodate groups dislocated by rapid social change are particularly subject to denominationalizing tendencies. These same tendencies are likely to be intensified if the sect is unclear concerning the boundaries of the saved community and extends its rules of endogamy to include any saved person as an eligible spouse; if its moral injunctions are unclearly distinguished from conventional or traditional morality; and if it accepts simple assertion of remorse for sin as sufficient to re-admit or to retain a backslidden member. Denominationalization is all the more likely when such a sect inherits, or evolves, any type of preaching order, lay pastors, or itinerant ministers; when revivalism leads to special training for the revivalists themselves (and so leads to a class of professionals who cease to rely on "love-offerings" but are granted a fixed stipend); and when the members are ineffectively separated from the world, a condition enhanced by proselytizing activities.

It is clear that the types of sect which we described as Conversionist are most likely to fulfil the conditions which transform sects into denominations and are least likely to enjoy the circumstances preventing this process. The Adventist and the Introversionist types appear to be best protected

from this development, although by different mechanisms: they fulfil few of the conditions supporting this evolution and often enjoy or create the factors which retard it. The Gnostic sect is in some ways less clearly protected, but its distinctive ideology performs in some measure the functions which social insulating mechanisms perform for other types.

In a broad way, we can see why certain earlier studies of sects fell into errors of prediction, since the conclusions rested on the experience of certain types of sects, sects which existed in very particular social circumstances, and accommodated people whose social marginality and sense of anomie were often temporary and a consequence of inadequate readjustment to rapidly changing social conditions. Of course, to predict the development of any given sect requires examination in close detail of its circumstances. Once these are known, however, the foregoing analysis should provide a guide for the interpretation of these facts.

INFORMATION AND AUTHORITY: THE STRUCTURE OF MILITARY ORGANIZATION

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Military organizations make a sharp distinction between posts giving the experience and those giving the understanding of combat. The former are at the front, the latter in the rear. The same organizations place a higher value on the exercise of reason than on the acquisition of experience, and endow officers engaged in the first activity with authority over those occupied by the second. The conditions most favorable to rational activity, calm and detachment, stand in direct antithesis to the confusion and involvement of combat. Considerations entering into the drawing up of plans, therefore, are of a different order than those determining their execution, and, in accordance with military status structure have a greater weight in the process of decision making.

I

SELFLESS dedication and inspiring personal example are the polar ideals of the military profession. The trained officer, by selection and indoctrination, is part of an organization that prescribes a rigid model of ends-means calculation and treats human life as simply another material factor. The leader in battle, in contrast, is a member of a caste whose authority is based on the belief that its particular moral qualities dominate environment and that the inspiration of its particular example can overcome the greatest quantitative odds. The officer is totally sheltered by and thoroughly a creature of the system in which he holds his commission, a system to which he has granted an absolute control over his destiny. Yet in situations where fear and indecision represent the common reaction, he is expected to determine the course of events by rising above ordinary behavior and providing a compelling model of resolute and resourceful response.

That military authority has two such aspects is officially recognized. The United States Field Manual on "Leadership" draws a distinction between authority as personally acquired and authority as formally delegated. The former is designated as *leadership*, the latter as *command*.[1] In the interests of the organization it is essential that the two functions be harmonized. The initiative undertaken by individuals must conform to the objectives of the group. The designated pattern of collective action must take into account the circumstances and potentialities of the individuals assigned to carry it out.

Such requirements, if elementary, are not simple. The conduct of war imposes an operational gulf between those who plan and those who execute. The high degree of de-

[1] "Command is the authority that a member of the military profession lawfully exerts over subordinates by virtue of his rank and assignment. Leadership can be exercised by anyone at any time irrespective of the framework of command." *Leadership*, FM 22–10, Washington, D. C.: Department of the Army, March, 1951, pp. 3 ff.

struction inherent in battle conditions those in command to accept specific instances of failure as natural and unavoidable. A calculated probability of destruction and survival dominates the overall picture. Victory is gained in spite of, perhaps because of the failure of, the annihilation of some of the particulars engaged. It is in the essence of the military ethic that weakness at specific points must never be allowed to color an appreciation of the general situation.

It is the particular and the personal, on the other hand, which determine the actions of the executants. In the attainment of local objectives, individuals hope for survival and units seek to maintain themselves as effective and coherent entities. The obstacles to be overcome are those which pose a direct threat to such ambitions.[2]

As a result, the conduct of war progresses along two distinct levels of comprehension. According to the orientation of the "high command," an army represents a self sufficient system, one containing within itself the necessary means for determining and attaining its objectives; the art of planning consists, of course, in the balancing of these two operations. Enemy opposition in its particular aspects is regarded, therefore, as something falling outside the system: an environmental peculiarity which can be overcome by an appropriate willingness to sacrifice. Opposition of this kind must not be allowed to affect the reasoning which enters into the drawing up and the pursuit of the grand design.[3]

Lower echelon organizations have the dual function of carrying out orders from above and of overcoming local opposition. In the eyes of the "high command" the former function is superior to the latter. In the heat of combat local opposition, nevertheless, is liable to receive the major share of the combatant's attention.

This difference in interest leads to a sharp division as to apprehension and evaluation. "High command," with the responsibility of maintaining overall unity in a steady advance towards coordinated objectives, concentrates on the maintenance of a concerted effort. "Lower leadership," with its survival at stake, concentrates on overcoming a particular threat. Internal order is the concern of one agency. External threats are the concern of the other.

This antinomy of outlooks has found its embodiment in the traditional military opposition of "staff" and "line" assignments, differing not only in outlook and objective, but also, and even more sharply, in working conditions. The staff setting is that of *command*. The emphasis given to coordination carries with it a concern for rank and assignment. The chain of command and responsibility is nowhere more clear. Men here know precisely who their superiors and subordinates are, and know also what is required of them and what sort of assistance they can expect.

The disorganization of combat, on the other hand, strips officers, insofar as they are immersed in it, of their specialized function. The stress under such circumstances is not so much upon rationalized individuation as upon group cohesion. *Leadership* in battle falls to the individual who supplies the convincing example. In uncontrolled circumstances such an example may be one of flight and paralysis; in controlled ones, of resolution and enthusiasm. The leader is not the man who methodically observes the limits and the potentialities of his particular assignment, but the one who establishes his mode of behavior as a meaningful, general norm.

From a functional point of view, then, armies may be regarded as composed of two distinct semi-autonomous organizations, each with its particular operational code.[4] Military art (or science) recognizes such a dichotomy in its division of the conduct of war under the two headings of strategy and tactics: the one devoted to the general direction of armies, the other devoted to the particular deployment of men and materiel. Competence in one of these areas has no necessary relation to competence in the other. Military history abounds in generals and

[2] The occasional circumstance in which death has seemed preferable even to victory represents something other than a military phenomenon.

[3] *Vide* Karl von Clausewitz, *On War*, translated by O. J. Matthijs Jolles, New York: Modern Library, 1943, pp. 40 ff.

[4] Historically, this is a modern development. See Michael Roberts, *The Military Revolution: 1560–1660*, Belfast: The Queen's University, n.d. The evolution of military organization, however, is a subject which goes beyond the limits of this essay.

actions judged to be strategic failures but tactical successes, or just the other way around.

II

When military professionalism is discussed as a modern phenomenon, it is the machinery for strategic decision, the atmosphere of planning, that is emphasized.[5] The armed forces have been accepted as an instance of bureaucratic organization. Not only does the general public, for whom every official agency is a bureaucracy, regard them as such, but professional military men consider the bureaucratic model as the necessary setting for the successful conduct of operations. The sociological definition of bureaucracy as "a formal, rationally organized social structure . . . in which, ideally, every series of actions is functionally related to the purposes of the organization"[6] fits the minimal requirements of command.

The form of a bureaucratic, that is, rationally oriented, organization is largely governed by the factors which it believes can be predicted and controlled. Such prediction and control over the movements of their own troops is a matter of commanders' responsibility and faith. If commanders lack that, they cease to command. First emphasis is therefore placed upon the coordination of friendly movements rather than upon the control of hostile ones. The environmental conditions sought by commanders are liable to be those from which their own troops can be most efficiently directed rather than those from which enemy troops may be most effectively observed.

The rational direction of large masses requires planning, and planning requires a high degree of stability and calm. The conditions of combat are fluid and haphazard in the extreme. Since disorganization and chance represent the threat, the activities of the organization must be directed towards achieving a working degree of stable and predictable conditions. The exercise of command thus entails a search for a degree of calm which enables its possessor to rise above the battle.

As a consequence, there is a direct relationship between remoteness from the battlefield and command responsibility: the wider the responsibility, the more remote the post. General officers may, as an incidental part of their duty, spend a good deal of time in the immediate battle area. An occasional visit to the front can serve as a spot check on the reliability of the information guiding headquarter's decisions. It may also be an equalitarian gesture: a concrete demonstration of the commander's belief that the community of fighting men is more important than the formal structure of rank. The command function of planning and coordination, however, is considered to require a sheltered position.

In what is perhaps the most perceptive of all combat studies of World War II, S. L. A. Marshall gives a command analysis by the leader of a highly successful company action.

> In any such desperate action as a charge, it is necessary to have an officer boldly *leading*. But it is not less important to have one forceful individual remain behind to do the pushing. . . .
>
> I gave myself the task of remaining behind and prodding them because I am the *commander*. It was my plan and I had given the order. It was my duty to see that it was carried out. I considered that my post should be at the point which offered the best chance of bringing off a successful and completed action.[7]

In other words, this division of labor involves the cultivation of an appropriate point of view. In a literal sense, the commander and the leader each operate from a different position.

Rank and reason are intimately related. The network of command, moving from high to low, begins with the few invested with the aura of a comprehensive grasp of the situation to be mastered and a knowledge of the principles governing its proper exploitation. It ends with the many whose contact with combat amounts to nothing more than personal experience and who, lacking in and barred from any knowledge of the principles

[5] See, e.g., S. P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957; J. W. Masland and L. I. Radway, *Soldiers and Scholars*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957; these two books have few if any other common assumptions.

[6] R. K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," in Merton et al., editors, *Reader in Bureaucracy*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952, p. 361.

[7] S. L. A. Marshall, *Men Against Fire*, New York: William Morrow, 1947, p. 199. My italics.

and calculations involved, are expected to do what they are told, and nothing more.[8] In between are those whose position in the command chain determines the mixture of these two roles; more knowledge and less personal experience of battle as they mount up, less knowledge and more experience as they go down. The environmental requirements of command, calm, and freedom from alien disturbances, make it possible to predict the fixed physical position of military officers. Insofar as command responsibility increases, the proper station will be progressively to the rear.[9]

III

Such differences in situation result in sharp disagreements in the evaluation of information. The function of command and the function of leadership, one devoted exclusively to planning and the other to execution, develop their peculiar mysteries. The problems of one remain remote to the other not merely because they are unwitnessed but also because in the context of the assigned task they are devoid of meaning. The fact that one organization is hierarchically superior to the other gives an invidious interpretation to this mutual incomprehensibility. Staff information eludes comprehension because it is esoteric; line information because it is trivial.[10]

Secrecy has been described as an inherent characteristic of bureaucratic organization.[11] In explanation of this, the hypothesis has been advanced that the superiority of bureaucratic "insiders" over non-bureaucratic "outsiders" is best maintained by the exclusion of the latter from information as to how official decisions are reached. In the general bureaucratic situation, however, those on the outside represent the clients the bureaucrat claims to serve. As such, this public is non-bureaucratic and thereby barred from any intimate association with bureaucratic techniques. But in the special case of military organization, everyone involved is a member of the system and, therefore, party to its operations.

The classic bureaucratic method for dealing with hostile clients is to do nothing for them, to starve them into submission. Secrecy in this case is a means of maintaining exclusive control over the machinery of administration. In the military sphere, however, the bureaucratic staff exercises its power in the giving of commands to inferiors. Unless the latter are actively engaged in carrying out orders, the staff itself is inert. The situation among the military is thus reversed. It is in the inactivity of inferiors that the veto threat lies.[12]

With "inside" authority thus dependent upon "outside" compliance, secrecy cannot be of an absolute order. But since all soldiers are within the system, it is not necessary that the difference be absolute. To combatants confusion is the essence of war. The need for coordination into a more comprehensive scheme is felt at every level. For his authority to be meaningful, it is only necessary that a superior officer know relatively more.

A captain knows more about what is going on than any lieutenant because he has several lieutenants reporting to him, and so on up the scale. Faith in the military system allows a commander to assume that his subordinates will give him a true picture of the situation before them. The proper performance of this duty allows subordinates to believe that there will be a rational pattern in the orders given to them.

This structuring of information is an integral part of military discipline. Security is not only a precautionary measure, it is also

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 94 ff.

[9] This generalization applies only to combat units. The organization of services and supplies represents another problem.

[10] "I remember thinking during the drive that officers in high authority, Army and even Corps Commanders, should avoid the proximity of the fighting line, and should not dwell in the atmosphere of the back area of a battlefield. . . . No commander can help being influenced by whatever misery or disorder comes within his limited field of vision." Brigadier General E. L. Spears, *Liaison 1914*, New York: Doubleday, 1931, p. 140.

[11] Merton, *op. cit.*, p. 363. Max Weber, *Essays in Sociology*, translated and edited by H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, London: Kegan and Paul, 1948, pp. 233 ff.

[12] "That is how things happen in war. General Lanrezac contemplates a possible counter-attack and issues order accordingly. Half the forces concerned never get the order. He changes his mind, and everyone remains as unaware of his new decision as if he were humming a tune in Mars." Spears, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

an instrument of authority. It apportions knowledge to rank and thus enables commanders to maintain control over subordinates at times when nothing else responds to their will. Confusion and uncertainty strengthen their hand. In the absence of any other tangible criteria, rank decides. The assertion of superior knowledge and the assertion of authority are often one and the same act.[13]

With such considerations in mind, it is clearly desirable that command posts be to the rear. A secluded position protects authority. When the combatant and the commander operate from a common position the authority of the latter is compromised. Commands must then conform to the common experience. Those visibly based on inaccuracies can destroy official authority.[14]

The decision as to whose information is the most accurate amounts to a judgment of the kind of assignments that are the most authoritative. Within the military hierarchy the type of intelligence possessed by a superior as a superior, by definition, is considered of a higher order than that available to a subordinate. Consistently, the categories of security classification correspond closely to the degrees of rank.

The establishment of command authority is a circular one. By virtue of his superiority, a superior officer has access to a higher, that is, more relevant and comprehensive order of information. His directives are to be obeyed by subordinates because of the higher order of knowledge they represent. The maintenance of discipline involves the unwavering assumption that the source of military directives serves as a sufficient warrant of their validity.

Channels of military information thus mirror the chain of command. Subordinates acknowledge their superiors not only by carrying out the latter's command, but also, since it must be demonstrated that the superior is thoroughly aware of everything going on, by keeping the higher echelons closely informed of the subordinate's movement and situation. To state it simply: the flow of commands is from superior to subordinate, the flow of information from subordinate to superior. A description of the quantity and the direction of these two items normally corresponds to a literal description of the status structure of the military organization involved.[15]

With role and status so interrelated certain grave operational difficulties emerge. Information is only to be transmitted along the chain of command. Commanders who are equal in rank or who are members of uncoordinated organizations are under no formal obligation to communicate with one another. Under conditions where units of equal size are fighting side by side this can lead to certain obvious inconveniences. One of the major sources of combat breakdowns cited by Marshall was the ignorance and inertia of commanders, as to the situation on their flanks, even under conditions where front to rear communication was in full operation.[16] Lateral communication was virtually nonexistent; the formal structure of command provided no sense of responsibility for such communication. Since the maintenance of close contact with commanders of equal rank was involved, the hypothesis may be advanced that the very nature of military organization inhibited the taking of any such steps.—The provision of information might have been regarded as an acknowledgment of subordination.

This last consideration might be declared a fanciful or, at best, a subconscious one were it not for the fact that it plays so prominent a role in the coordination of coalition forces. Under circumstances where there are two uncoordinated chains of command, considerations of rank and of national autonomy restrict the flow of information between

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[13] ". . . a senior artillery officer ran in, seemingly on the verge of collapse. 'All the guns in the division are lost,' he almost sobbed. Sir Archibald Murray took a step towards him and getting hold of his shoulders shook him roughly. 'To my knowledge you have seven left,' he said sternly." *Ibid.*, p. 284.

[14] Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 175 ff.

[15] "The flow of men and materiel during battle is ever toward the front. The flow of orders and instructions is toward the front.

"But the prevailing flow of information, on which the employment of men and materiel in combat and the writing of orders and instructions for combat are based, is ever toward the rear, and the volume of it seems to increase according to the square of the distance from the fighting line." *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 85 ff.

armies. Unless a supreme commander can be agreed upon, each force will prefer to act independently and to regard the provision of detailed operational information to the other as a confession of inferiority. National honor forbids subordination. Independence and equality of rank are considered incompatible with the unrestricted flow of information.[17]

Access to information, in many ways, takes precedence over formal rank as a determinant of organizational status. The equation of command with planning, and of planning with access to detailed information, can be reversed so as to give officers with an access to detailed information the authority to command. Moreover, bureaucratic specialization can lead to the development of a special corps of officers with the specific assignments of analyzing and reducing to rational order the total body of available information and of drawing up battle plans from the resultant picture.[18] Moreover, specialization divorces such a body of officers from any direct command responsibility. Since command responsibility mirrors official status, specialists are confined to the relatively lower grades.

Access to higher order information, when officially recognized, can override the claims of formal military rank. An officer belonging to a military section responsible for top level planning is the ultimate recipient of information. He may thereby acquire authority over officers superior in formal rank but with assignments placing them in less intimate contact with the official truth. The legendary function of the Prussian General Staff can be cited as an example of this situation. The high order of information possessed by members of this group empowered them to give directives to officers much their superior in grade. On one famous occasion, a General Staff Lieutenant Colonel ordered an army commander to retreat, a decision which possibly deprived Germany of a chance of quick victory in World War I.[19]

IV

Contact between planners and executants is formally limited to the information the latter transmit to the rear. Information, digested and rationalized, is translated into battle plans. Battle plans are submitted to commanders who break them down into specific concrete decisions, and who transmit such decisions as orders to the appropriate subordinates. Small wonder, therefore, that a tradition of antipathy has grown up between staff and line officers. In the course of whatever contacts they do have, the former cannot help but appear olympian and the latter all too human.

Attacks within the organization on the effectiveness of higher military authority do not generally concentrate on the quality of the adopted strategy. Lower ranks through ignorance are in no position to do this. They stress the kind of information upper echelons do not take into account because of exclusively command preoccupations. The accusation is made that the men at staff headquarters disregard or distort reports coming in from the field,[20] and close their minds to any information disturbing their carefully drawn up plans. Staff officers are apt to reply that they are motivated by factors far weightier than local considerations, that highly confidential considerations of grand strategy and general policy direct their decisions, which must be carried out whatever the cost, and, in any event, would be meaningless to men on the line.

It is not simply a question of commanders knowing what is taking place at the front. It is a matter of their giving such information a higher priority than the plan of action already decided upon. The flow of information from front to rear, of course, is an accepted ingredient in the drawing up of the battle picture. The chances are that by virtue of their authority, higher commanders will restrict this flow to items which they consider to be relevant and which, giving the organizational mind its due, support their

[17] Spears, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 ff., 323 ff.

[18] "The Staff officers . . . formed an aristocracy within the great body of professional officers. Indeed, they seemed to consider themselves the High Priests of the profession, the repositories of the True Faith, the Adepts." *Ibid.*, p. 27. This is a description of the French General Staff. The German General Staff had an even greater degree of prestige and authority.

[19] Gordon Craig, *The Politics of the Prussian Army*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1956, p 301. See also G. Ritter, *The Schlieffen Plan*, New York: Praeger, 1958.

[20] Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 ff.

plan of action.[21] A tenet of military discipline is that if the original plan is sound nothing occurring in the course of its execution should in any way affect the determination to carry it out. The more professional a military organization regards itself, the more strictly it is apt to adhere to this rule of conduct.[22]

A case of such uncompromising military evaluation, all the more interesting for continuing to exist forty years after the event, was recently given in the commemoration of the battle of Passchendaele in July and October of 1917. A commemorative article summed up this action as a tactical failure, but a strategic success.[23] The British commander, it was claimed, knew in confidence that the French armies were demoralized and in no condition to face a German offensive, and that unless such action was forestalled by the British taking the initiative, the French and thereby the entire allied front were liable to collapse. The British accepted the challenge and gave battle. This decision, although extremely costly in lives, saved the front that year and made victory possible the next.

A series of letters attacked this conclusion. The critics argued that the planning of Passchendaele was carried out in almost total ignorance of the conditions under which the battle had to be fought. No senior officer from the Operations Branch of the General Headquarters, it was claimed, ever set foot (or eyes) on the Passchendaele battlefield during the four months that battle was in progress. Daily reports on the condition of the battlefield were first ignored, then ordered discontinued. Only after the battle did the Army chief of staff learn that he had been directing men to advance through a sea of mud.[24]

After forty years of publication and controversy neither side acknowledged the other's point of view. Each side drew up its judgment of the battle so as to support the claim that its particular experience had provided it with the facts necessary for a correct assessment of the situation. Staff planning was guided by strategic considerations, which were found to consist of the kind of information available and comprehensible exclusively to staffs. Line execution was determined by tactical conditions, which consisted of the situation and predicament of men on the line.

World War I (and this is its utility as a model) represents, for the most part, a situation in which battle was tactically impossible though strategically desirable. Reports from the front, if taken literally, could only have told planners that concerted large-scale action was for the moment out of the question.[25] The deadlock enforced by barbed wire and automatic weapons brought about an almost complete disassociation of strategic and tactical thought. Under such circumstances neither was in a position to guide the other. It was rather a matter of outright dominance, and the framework of organization gave staff the upper hand.

For the planners to take into consideration the tactical conditions would have been an acknowledgment of the superiority of the line's vantage point. They would, thereby, have assigned information coming from the front a higher value than plans formulated in the rear. Line officers, on this basis, would have then been in the possession of the decisive word in the drawing up of plans. Staff officers would have relinquished the superior status and authority given to them by their organizational position. And of such stuff organization men are not made.[26]

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[21] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

[22] In World War II, for example, the United States Marines were much more inclined to carry out operations regardless of casualties than the more civilian-oriented Army.

[23] Terraine, "The Campaign in the Mud," *The Spectator*, No. 6545 (October 4, 1957), pp. 426–427.

[24] *The Spectator*, No. 6757 (December 27, 1957), p. 894; No. 6758 (January 3, 1958), p. 17; No. 6759 (January 10, 1958), p. 47.

[25] The adoption of this point of view gave Petain his great post World War I reputation. See B. H. Liddell Hart, *The Real War*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1930, pp. 420–425; P. Valéry, "Response au Marechal Petain," *Variété IV*, Paris: Gallimard, 1938, pp. 60 ff.

[26] In a strict sense, the above considerations apply only to armies considered as professional bureaucratic organizations. It is both theoretically and practically possible to keep the locus of decision-making in the front line; Marshall claims that this has been accomplished in the Israeli army. See S. L. A. Marshall, "Why the Israeli Army Wins," *Harper's Magazine*, 217 (October, 1958), pp. 38–45. But the conditions under which this has been accomplished are most pertinent:

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Ideally speaking, military operations are painstakingly planned and then carried out with unquestioning resolution. The one operation requires conditions of orderliness and calm, the other creates an environment of disorderliness and confusion. Planners are therefore in the rear, while executors constitute in themselves the scene of battle. Differences in assignment result in differences as to the point from and the manner in which war is observed. As a result, two antithetical concepts dominate the exercise of military authority.

The professional soldier operates within a bureaucratic framework. Assignments, therefore, tend to be evaluated according to the scope they provide for rational investigation and orderly procedure. Officers responsible for the drawing up of plans, then, have higher status than those responsible for their execution. This is so even when the latter are superior in rank.

The superiority of planners is based on the assumption that their position serves to keep them informed about what is happening to the army as a whole, while that of the executor limits knowledge to personal experience. This assumption is supported by the hierarchical structure of military organization which establishes in specific detail the stages and the direction of the flow of information. In terms of this hierarchy, the man who receives information is superior to the man who transmits it. Since each superior invariably has several subordinates he enjoys the sum of their information which, by definition, is greater than any of its parts. By virtue of his position in the organizational structure, the superior is the best informed and, therefore, the best equipped to give orders.

In terms of this same organizational structure, planning, exercise of reason, and rearward position result in high military authority. Execution, dependence upon direct personal experience, and frontal position, on the other hand, result in low military authority. The dictates of reason as exercised in the rear are, therefore, of greater weight than the facts of experience as suffered in the front. A plan of operations once decided must therefore be carried out even if reports from the scene of combat indicate that it is unrealistic. Determination of this kind is regarded as essential if the military structure of rank and authority is to be preserved.

(1) a citizen rather than a regular army, (2) an equalitarian rather than a hierarchical military status structure, and (3) a military doctrine (and geographical reality) denying the existence of a strategic and logistical rear. How far these conditions are unique to contemporary Israel, how much dependent upon the nature of its Arab neighbors, and what possibility there is of applying them to the standing armies of the great powers are questions of the broadest military and sociological scope.

A TYPOLOGY OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

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Generally, voluntary associations have been analyzed on the basis of the characteristics of the participants, such as their age, sex, marital status, socio-economic background, ethnicity, and race. Few studies have taken voluntary associations themselves as the object of study. This paper proposes a theory of voluntary associations in the form of a typology utilizing the three criteria of accessibility of membership, status defining capacity of the association, and the function of the organization for the participant defined as instrumental or expressive. An attempt is made to indicate the relationship between membership characteristics and the organization itself and also to suggest a basis for the comparative study of organizations. The utility of the typology for generating hypotheses is illustrated by a few tentative formulations.

THIS paper proposes a theory of voluntary associations in the form of a typology. The central ideas developed are those which bear on the various functions of organizations as these relate to association. The need for such a theory became apparent in connection with a field research project on associations in a zone of transition in a metropolitan area. (Reference will be made to some of the data from this project.) While

modern sociology provides an integrated body of theory and empirical data on formal organization, comparable knowledge in the study of voluntary associations is lacking.[1]

The research on voluntary associations represents discontinuous approaches without reference to systematic theory, as illustrated in the work of Chapin, Queen, Rose, Goldhamer, Warner, Lundberg, and Komarovsky. Rose, for example, is concerned with associations that are formed to achieve a condition or change in some segment of society, which he classifies as "social influence" groups; while associations organized to express or satisfy the interests of their members he calls "expressive" groups[2] and are excluded from any systematic consideration.[3] Chapin and Queen have investigated the degree of involvement of members in community organization through the measurement of participation; and Chapin and his students, from their study of formal groups, have proposed the theory that voluntary associations develop into bureaucratic structures over time.[4] Lynd, Warner, Komarovsky, and others are especially concerned with the correlation between voluntary association and social class.[5] That such a relationship exists has been firmly established, but its interpretation within any systematic theoretical framework of voluntary associations is limited.

Goldhamer, following Wirth, likens the corporation in the economic realm to the club and association in the non-economic sphere.[6] Whereas complexity in economic organization arises in conjunction with specialization and division of labor, the proliferation of voluntary organizations is a direct outgrowth of peculiar interests as it springs from heterogeneity (for example, ethnic, occupational, educational, special interest). For Goldhammer, formalization of a given organization facilitates and en-

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[1] There is considerable convergence of the theory of formal and informal organization manifest in a wide range of literature that has appeared over the last twenty-five years. Representative are: Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. 65–123; George C. Homans, *The Human Group*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1950, pp. 81–130; Scott A. Greer, *Social Organization*, New York: Random House, 1955, pp. 1–10; Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society*, New York: Knopf, 1951, pp. 165–184; Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order*, New York: Macmillan, 1951, pp. 71–97.

[2] Arnold M. Rose, *Theory and Method in the Social Sciences*, Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1954, p. 52. Similarly, Lundberg, *et al.*, used the three-fold designation, instrumental, mixed, and leisure, for classifying associations in a prior study; see G. A. Lundberg, M. Komarovsky, and M. A. McInery, *Leisure: A Suburban Study*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1934, pp. 126–169.

[3] Rose's discussion of associations is confined primarily to the "social-influence" category. This classification reflects an interest in social problems or an action approach to the study of association. Conceivably, therefore, it is biasing insofar as general functions of organizations are concerned.

[4] F. Stuart Chapin, "Social Institutions and Voluntary Association," in Joseph B. Gittler, editor, *Review of Sociology: Analysis of a Decade*, New York: Wiley, 1957, p. 261.

[5] Extensive research has been carried out in this area and is reported in the following: Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929; Lundberg *et al.*, *op. cit.*; W. C. Mather, "Income and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, 6 (June, 1941), pp. 380–384; W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941; Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (December, 1946), pp. 686–698; Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Working-Class Families," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (October, 1951), pp. 687–693; Thomas Bottomore, "Social Stratification in Voluntary Organizations," in D. V. Glass, editor, *Social Mobility*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954; Leonard Reissman, "Class, Leisure, and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (February, 1954), pp. 76–84; John Foskett, "Social Structure and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (August, 1955), pp. 431–438; Wendell Bell and Maryanne Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (February, 1956), pp. 25–34; Wendell Bell and Maryanne Force, "Social Structure and Participation in Different Types of Formal Associations," *Social Forces*, 34 (May, 1956), pp. 345–350; John Scott, Jr., "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (June, 1957), pp. 315–326; Howard Freeman, Edwin Novak, and Leo Reeder, "Correlates of Membership in Voluntary Associations," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (October, 1957), pp. 528–533; Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Memberships," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (June, 1958), pp. 284–294.

[6] Herbert Goldhamer, "Voluntary Associations in the United States," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., editors, *Reader in Urban Sociology*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951, p. 507.

genders the coming together of like-interested persons. Hence, an implicit assumption in his work (and that of others) is that persons who have like interests will seek organizations that help them implement these interests. Another implicit, though far from fully demonstrated, assumption is that members who belong to the same organization tend to be categorically alike as well as alike in interests, experiences, and attitudes.

AIMS, FUNCTIONS, AND MEMBERSHIP

Such examinations of voluntary association make apparent the significance of the group's aim in relation to its criteria for the selection of its members. The stated aims of the organization may be misleading insofar as these reveal the organization's function. Equally pertinent is the relationship between criteria of membership and function. For example, the D.A.R. is a voluntary association, but to join, it is necessary to be an adult female who can trace familial lineage to a participant in the American Revolution. Here, ancestry, indicating long association with old American stock, is an important limiting factor; in many organizations membership criteria are almost wholly ascriptive. Thus the criteria of membership may or may not bear on the alleged functions of the organization. Relatively exclusive membership may be viewed as more of a desideratum by the persons belonging to the organization than their concern with its stated objectives.

The membership criteria, the activities, and its stated objectives, as these relate to the functions of the organization, warrant analysis. Here this analysis takes the form of study of specific cases.

Davis and the Gardners in *Deep South* found membership in the Historical Club to be composed primarily of upper-class women.[7] The stated concern of the Club was to honor the local past through an annual community celebration called "Historical Week." Although membership in the Club was limited to upper-class women, upper-middle class women interested in the organization could participate in a limited supportive non-membership capacity. Such women carried on many of the same activities as those engaged in by the members during Historical Week, namely, by serving as guides for tours, opening their homes as rooming houses for visitors, serving meals (although for a price), acting as costumed assistant hostesses, and otherwise participating in pageants recreating and honoring the past.

In short, many of the activities of interested upper-middle class women paralleled the activities of the actual members. This strongly suggests little or no difference between the activities and the "proper attitudes" of the participating members and non-members. The alleged aims of the organization were advanced by both. A discrepancy between the alleged aim of the Club, as revealed in activity and stated purpose, and the purpose or function of the group, as shown by examination of membership attributes, is further indicated. Hence the function of this organization is not to be found in its stated objectives but in its status conferring function made possible by membership selection based on prestigeful and highly limited ascriptive qualities.

An organizational prototype standing in almost direct contrast to the Historical Club in membership criteria and status conferring function is the YMCA. The membership consists of males within a wide age range. It is difficult to focus sharply on a single aim or over-all objective of this Association. A local affiliate states the objectives as follows: ". . . to improve the spiritual, mental, social and physical condition of people and to associate them in a world-wide fellowship united by a common loyalty to the principles of Jesus Christ for the purpose of building a Christian personality and a Christian society." [8] Membership in the Association, with the minor exception of fees and the informally operative tie with religion is open. Members may engage in a wide range of activities directly related to interest. The extent to which an individual participates in one or more specific groups (assuming the usual qualification such as age), as well as the intensity of his participation, are purely voluntary. There is a direct relationship between the stated aims

[7] Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. 194–195.

[8] From the Constitution and By-Laws of the YMCA, Rochester, New York.

or objectives of the interest group and the activities in which the person engages.

The openness of membership in the YMCA stands in direct contrast to the limitations on membership in the Historical Club. A parallel contrast is apparent. While membership in the Historical Club confers high status on the individual, this is not the case with the YMCA. At the same time, however, the activities in both the Y and the Historical Club do not *per se,* confer status upon the individual.

Another type of voluntary association is illustrated by the Boy Scouts of America. The membership consists of males within a specified age range. The aims of the Scouts, as outlined in their manual, are as follows: "The purpose of this corporation shall be to promote, through organization, and cooperation with other agencies, the ability of boys to do things for themselves and others, to train them in scoutcraft, and to teach them patriotism, courage, self-reliance, and kindred virtues, using the methods which are now in common use by boy scouts."[9] This association is "democratic" insofar as the criteria of class, religion, ethnicity, and race bear on membership qualification. The activities are uniform for all members and successive steps in achievement depend upon results graded by objective standards of evaluation which are consistent with the officially stated standards. Hence the function of the organization, on the whole, coincides with the stated objectives.[10]

INSTRUMENTAL AND EXPRESSIVE ASSOCIATIONS

The discussion of formal voluntary association thus far has examined the basis for membership selection in relation to the status defining function of the organization. An additional basis for distinguishing between types of associations is to be found in their stated objectives. Certain groups do not exist primarily to furnish activities for members as an end in itself, but serve as social influence organizations designed to maintain or to create some normative condition or change. Such groups exist in order to attain goals that lie outside of the organizations themselves. The NAACP, the League of Women Voters, and a Neighborhood Improvement Council represent this type. Here these organizations are called *instrumental* groups.

A highly visible example of an instrumental group is the NAACP. The expressed goals are indicated in the name of the organization itself: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Its explicitly stated purposes are:

1. To educate America to accord full rights and opportunities to Negroes.
2. To fight injustice in the courts when based on race prejudice.
3. To pass protective legislation in state and nation and to defeat discriminatory bills.
4. To secure the vote for Negroes and teach its proper use.
5. To stimulate the cultural life of Negroes.
6. To stop lynching.

Membership is unqualified for adults. Participation can be nominal or active; the activities of members are consistent with the stated objectives of the organization. These objectives are highly consistent with the Judaic-Christian and democratic traditions, but various segments of the population disagree on the specific means which should be used by the NAACP for accomplishing the stated aims. Thus, while the objectives of the organization are esteemed by many, the formal group itself may rank low relative to other organizations. This is true despite the fact that the NAACP may be credited, in part, for bringing about change consonant with its stated purposes. (The low evaluation of an organization such as the NAACP by a significant proportion of the population may be attributed to the low rank held by many of its members and leaders in major status systems, either ethnic or racial.)

Another instrumental organization is the League of Women Voters. Membership is allegedly open to any interested adult female. The purpose of the League is "to promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government." It is studiously non-partisan and confines itself to issues in government (on

[9] *Boy Scouts of America: The Official Handbook for Boys,* New York: Doubleday, Page, 1916, p. viii.

[10] A description of groups containing an explicit discussion of the Boy Scouts as an organization is to be found in Dwight Sanderson, "Group Description," *Social Forces,* 16 (March, 1938), pp. 309–319.

which the League often takes a stand after extended research) and to the qualifications of candidates for office. Membership activities are directly consistent with the aims as stated. The League stands for diffuse and widely held goals relating to an active and enlightened citizenry. Both the purposes and the means for their implementation are highly approved by most persons familiar with the organization.

The dichotomy of organizations of expressive and instrumental types is an oversimplification since some associations seem to manifest both functions. (Below, a third possibility, the instrumental-expressive, is introduced.) For example, it is possible that a national veterans' organization may operate to a great extent on an expressive level locally but on an instrumental level nationally. The apparent expressive character of any organization is consistent with the view in organization theory that activities and sentiments tend to develop above and beyond the requirements of the formal system. Hence, whatever the purpose of the organization, it will incorporate expressive characteristics for its maintenance and provide a framework for personal gratification. Although an instrumental organization might meet the expressive needs of its members, its principal requirement is that it focus on activity and goals that are outside the organization itself.

GUIDING CRITERIA

Several assumptions about the relationship between the members and organizational activities have been introduced. These assumptions can now be reformulated as concepts for the classification of associations. These concepts are: accessibility of membership, the status defining capacity of the organization, and the categorization of organizational functions as instrumental or expressive.

Degree of Accessibility. Organizations may be divided into two classes, those with high and those with low accessibility. Associations with almost completely unqualified membership, seeking very large numbers, represent an extreme form of the highly accessible organization. Such an organization is the New York Association for the United Nations. Some groups with relatively unlimited membership use as a selective principle some gross ascriptive attribute such as age or sex. Examples of these associations are the Boy Scouts and the YMCA. A somewhat more selective organization, though one which purports to seek members by stating minimum membership requirements, is the League of Women Voters; in addition to the gross ascriptive qualifications of age and sex, the League is highly "self-conscious" about its recruitment policies as a result of informal control of membership: it is predominantly an organization for college women.

Labor unions like the CIO and veterans' groups such as the American Legion add to the gross ascriptive membership qualifications membership in some other organization, either present or past.

Associations of low accessibility are of two major types. First, there are organizations whose membership is limited by the highly selective criterion of achievement or talent or both.[11] For example, the criterion for active membership in the American Sociological Society is a Ph.D. or its equivalent—most professional societies would fall into this category. Second, there are those groups whose membership is qualified by formally ascriptive qualities limited through a device such as kinship, illustrated by the D.A.R. Ascription may be related to social class, ethnicity, race, or all three, which operate informally to limit membership. The Historical Club as reported in *Deep South* is a case where membership is limited by ascription of a highly valued but scarce attribute which few people in the community possess. It does not follow that scarcity necessarily results in high evaluation. The membership of an American-Armenian club, for example, is limited by ascription of a relatively lowly valued but scarce attribute which few people in a community may possess. Therefore, the present distinction is based not on ascription or scarcity but on the evaluation of the ascribed attribute.

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[11] The focus on accessibility is consistent with the general theory of stratification proposed by Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore in "Some Principles of Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, 10 (April, 1945), pp. 242–247.

Status Conferring Capacity. By "status conferring" we have reference to the capacity of an organization to bestow prestige or to be associated with prestige which accrues to its members. The assumption is made that organizations can be arranged in a rank system and the evaluation on which the ranking is based is related in part to the accessibility dimension considered above. Activity is used as synonymous with role; evaluation of role is identified with status.[12] Certain activities are highly valued in our society and it often follows that organizations promoting such activities are also highly valued or seriously considered. Thus the League of Women Voters lends considerable support to the activities related to good government and "enlightened" voting. Further, the approach by which the League gives support to voting activity is also highly approved. Here is an illustration of how both ends and the means employed to achieve them are relevant in the evaluation of an organization and its members.

There are various ways in which an organization, its membership, or both may relate to activity. The right to engage in organizational activities can be based on prior ascription or achievement qualifications, either or both of which may be formally or informally operative. Thus the status of the American Medical Association may derive in part from the achievement of its members prior to entering the organization. The prestige of the Historical Club may be the consequence of social class position of the members, not the activities of the club itself.

The status conferring capacity of an organization is often related to the ethnic and racial composition of its membership. The status of ethnic and racial organizations often depends on the place of the group in the ethnic or racial ranking systems. Ethnicity and race of membership, then, are sources of organizational status. These ranking systems also operate independently of the activities of organizations as they bear on evaluation.

Many organizations do not confer prestige on their members through their activity outside the organization. The activities may be engaged in fairly equally by all of the members so that no prestige results from the competitive achievement within the organization. This is generally the case in the YMCA.

Status may accrue to an individual on the basis of achievement in activities within an organizational context. Eagle Scouts and Thirty-Second Degree Masons, for example, receive recognition and status within their own organizations and in society at large.

The status significance of an organization for its members may depend upon the relationship of its activities to objectives which lie outside the organization and the effectiveness of their implementation. These activities and objectives, as well as the means of attaining them, may be highly approved or disapproved, as illustrated, once again, in the work of the League of Women Voters—in contrast with the activities of, say, the Ku Klux Klan.

Function. Generically, organizations may be classified according to their functions for members. One major type provides the framework for immediate and continuing gratification to the individual, exemplified by a "senior citizens" club, the Boys' Club, and such special interest groups as bowling, chess, and checkers associations. These groups perform a function primarily for the individual participants through activities confined and self-contained within the organization itself. More specifically, they provide the opportunity for carrying on activities, such as recreation, of direct interest to the participants or help to provide satisfactions of personal fellowship. Also included in this category are honorific or status conferring organizations. This type of organization has been designated as expressive. In the main, the orientation of the group is not to the attainment of a goal anticipated for the future but to the organized flow of gratifications in the present.[13]

[12] We draw heavily on the concept of role as formulated by Freedman and his associates, who write that role denotes ". . . functional position in the group or the pattern of behavior regularly performed. Thus, role means not only routine activity but the relation of that activity to other activities." See Ronald Freedman, A. H. Hawley, W. S. Landecker, and M. H. Miner, *Principles of Sociology*, New York: Holt, 1952, p. 111.

[13] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951, p. 79.

In contrast, the major function and orientation of the instrumental organization are related to activities which take place outside the organization. It seeks to maintain a condition or to bring about change which transcends its immediate membership.[14] Examples of associations of this type are Americans for Democratic Action, the Young Republican Club, the Ku Klux Klan, and the League of Women Voters. Members identify with the group, at least in part, because of its commitment to goals which do not contribute directly to their own personal and immediate satisfactions. Of course, this tendency does not preclude the possibility of "expressive functions" being found in the instrumental type of organization.

Standing between predominantly instrumental and expressive associations are those groups that incorporate both functions self-consciously. A case in point is the American Legion. At the national level the Legion has registered lobbyists and a legislative program officially endorsed by its members, but at the local level it functions primarily as a club for convivial activities. In the present scheme, such organizations are designated as instrumental-expressive. Members identify with the organization both for the fellowship it provides and for the special objectives it seeks.

[14] Rose, *op. cit.*

THE TYPOLOGY

In the foregoing discussion, various elements bearing on a theory of voluntary association have been considered, namely, accessibility, status defining capacity, and the instrumental, instrumental-expressive, and expressive functions of organizations. These elements constitute the basis for the schematic presentation in the accompanying chart.

A Typology of Voluntary Associations
(With Examples)

	High Accessibility		Low Accessibility	
	High Status	Low Status	High Status	Low Status
Instrumental	Young Republican Club	Ku Klux Klan	League of Women Voters	Lithuanian American Council
Instrumental-Expressive	Kiwanis	American Legion	American Sociological Society	Alcoholics Anonymous
Expressive	Boy Scouts of America	YMCA	Daughters of the American Revolution	Omega (Nat'l Negro Fraternal Org.)

This typology may be used as a basis for a sociological classification of voluntary organizations. It also suggests criteria for ranking organizations, in lieu of a general organizational ranking system, comparable to the one devised by North and Hatt in ranking occupations.[15] Such a ranking would be empirically relevant to the present theoretical formulation. The typology also can be employed as a heuristic device for generating hypotheses, as the following tentative formulations suggest:

> Organizations with low accessibility of membership as a result of ascriptive criteria which are highly evaluated will provide high status for their members.
>
> If membership is highly accessible and the organization espouses and implements widely held and esteemed values, it will be highly ranked.

[15] C. C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1949, pp. 464–474.

If the means by which an organization implements its goals are controversial, it will rank lower than one in which this is not the case.

If an organization, through its activities, is capable of implementing its stated goals, it will tend to rank higher than one which is not capable of implementing its goals.

If an organization which is highly accessible exists only to provide immediate satisfactions through activities for its members, it will rank low.

There is a direct relationship between organizational talent or training requirements for membership, or both, and its rank.

Organizations with low accessibility of membership as a result of negatively evaluated ascriptive criteria will be ranked low.

The typology as a classificatory scheme has utility in the analysis of relationships between specific variables as these relate to organization. Status, accessibility, and function become analytic when considered in connection with age, sex, nativity, education, and so forth. An examination of an old-age organization (in the research on associations in a zone of transition referred to above) is illustrative.[16] Information derived from interviews of 52 persons, a random sample of a membership of over 300, revealed that these individuals (mean age of 75 years) were primarily engaged in expressive activities within the organization. In addition to their affiliation with the organization studied, these persons held memberships in 41 different associations. The latter were primarily of the expressive type, consisting of social clubs, recreational clubs, golden-age groups, and hobby clubs. Thirty-seven persons in the sample belonged to three or more associations, and over 80 per cent of the memberships were in the expressive-association category. The extreme age of this group makes it an interesting case of the expressive organization. According to the present scheme, this old-age association would be classed as having low status and low accessibility relative to the entire adult population.

An interesting parallel is to be drawn from associations of children. Clearly, children characteristically do not form or maintain instrumental-type groups. Nor do children's groups, with few exceptions, have high status. Children and the very old are very likely to belong to expressive groups.

[16] The use of these data is intended merely to show the manner in which specific variables bear on the typology proposed. They also show how specific organizations can be classified in the scheme. Our concern here is primarily a theoretical explication of crucial variables for guiding analysis and suggestion research rather that an empirical test of theory. For a complete report of the research and this theory, see the unpublished manuscript by Nicholas Babchuk and C. Wayne Gordon, *A Study of Voluntary Associations in a Zone of Transition.*

SUMMARY

This paper has discussed a number of concepts pertinent to the analysis of voluntary associations. A typology of voluntary associations has been developed employing and interrelating the degree of accessibility of membership, the status conferring capacity, and the classification of groups as instrumental, instrumental-expressive, and expressive, as these relate to the functions of organizations. The usefulness of this scheme for generating hypotheses has been suggested and demonstrated.

ROLE CONCEPTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONAL SIZE *

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In a study of the role conceptions and quality of performance of 109 welfare workers in small, medium, and large organizational units of a state welfare department it was found that in the smaller units there was more role consensus, greater breadth of role conception, higher ethical commitment, and better quality of work performance. The last three of these variables reflect organizational effectiveness in providing services to families. It is concluded that the organizational goal of providing services to families was more effectively achieved in the small as compared with the larger welfare bureaus because the influences of the small community, where the smaller offices were located, encouraged a service orientation toward recipients. The effects of size alone are judged to be less potent than those of the community setting.

THE growth of organizations from modest-sized structures; often housed under one roof, to bureaucratic giants has brought a proliferation of administrative units and their dispersion over wide geographical areas. Although the units of these bureaucracies are generally part of the same organizational structure and are committed to achieving common objectives by means of uniformly applied operating procedures, the physical separation of bureaus and offices allows differences among them to germinate and grow. An important source of such differences is the number of persons in the local administrative units. These different sized units are a promising site for research on large-scale organizations because some of the characteristics that would normally vary freely in unrelated organizations are held equal.

Much still remains to be learned about the relations between the size of an organization and the behavior of its members.[1] A central question of practical and theoretical significance is the extent to which an organization's size facilitates or impedes efforts to attain its formally stated objectives. To answer this question research must be focused upon two related problems: delineation of the differences in behavior of members in organizations varying in size; and consideration of how these behavioral correlates of size affect the organization's capacity to achieve its goals. Such research should add to the further understanding of those non-formal characteristics of large organizations that affect organizational behavior.

This study compares the role conceptions, the degree of role consensus, and the quality

* The findings reported here are based upon data collected in one phase of a research project financed by funds from the State of Michigan for research and service in the utilization of human resources. The project was located in the University of Michigan School of Social Work. The author is indebted to W. J. Maxey, Lynn Kellogg, and Willis Oosterhof of the Department for the consultation and cooperation given in the study; to Mrs. Donna McLeod of the research staff for assistance in collecting data and in statistical analyses; and to Morris Janowitz, Leo Meltzer, Henry J. Meyer, and Robert Vinter for critically reading an early draft of this paper.

[1] One of the few empirical studies of the size of organizations is Frederic W. Terrien and Donald L. Mills, "The Effect of Changing Size Upon the Internal Structure of Organizations," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (February, 1955), pp. 11–14. Discussions of organizational size are found in Theodore Caplow, "Organizational Size," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 1 (March, 1957), pp. 485–491; and Kenneth E. Boulding, *The Organizational Revolution*, New York: Harper, 1953.

The importance of size as a variable was noted long ago by Spencer, Durkheim, and Simmel, whose observations are well-known on this subject. Examples of recent laboratory work include: Robert F. Bales, "Some Uniformities of Behavior in Small Social Systems," in G. Swanson, T. M. Newcomb, and E. Hartley, editors, *Readings in Social Psychology*, New York: Holt, 1952, pp. 146–159; Robert F. Bales and Edgar F. Borgatta, "Size of Group as a Factor in the Interaction Profile," in A. Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta, and R. F. Bales, editors, *Small Groups: Studies in Social Interaction*, New York: Knopf, 1955, pp. 396–413; A. Paul Hare, "Interaction and Consensus in Different Sized Groups," in D. Cartwright and A. Zander, editors, *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory*, Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1953, pp. 483–492.

of work of welfare workers in different sized organizational units of a state welfare department. The objectives of the welfare program and the formal requirements for the performance of roles were the same throughout the organization. In comparing small and large units in the department many formal characteristics of the welfare bureaus were thus held constant. Of course, not all of the possibly influential variables were controlled because of differences in history and location of the bureaus.

Attention in the presentation of findings is given to the relationship of the variables to organizational size and, in the discussion of results, to interpretation of why the variables were associated with size and to the relationship of the size of the welfare bureau and their effectiveness in the attainment of one of the organizational goals.

THE ORGANIZATION

The Michigan State Department of Social Welfare administers a program of public assistance through bureaus located in 83 counties. Bureaus range in size from those of one person, who makes investigations and serves as bureau supervisor, to one with hundreds of employees. If sufficiently large, a bureau includes public assistance workers who investigate applications for financial assistance, case and bureau supervisors, and clerical personnel. Within a bureau the chain of authority runs from bureau supervisor to case supervisor and from case supervisor to public assistance worker, with each case supervisor generally supervising six to seven workers.

As noted earlier, the formal requirements of the role of public assistance worker are uniform throughout the organization. All workers have met the same minimal requirements for the job, all perform the same types of functions, and all follow the same rules and procedures as set forth in the manual of operation for the investigation of applications for assistance. At the same time, however, the role can be conceived and performed in different ways because of certain ambiguities in how it is defined (apart from other reasons). Consider, for example, the role of workers who handle cases in the Aid to Dependent Children program (these are the workers studied in this investigation). The federal laws define the ADC task too generally to be of much help in determining many concrete decisions.[2] In contrast, the manual of operation, while very specific with respect to conditions of eligibility for financial assistance, does not cover numerous service problems met by the worker. Thus there is latitude for individual variability in performance and for different conceptions of the role.

PROCEDURE AND FINDINGS

The sample of 109 public assistance workers who handled ADC cases consisted largely of females, and most were married. A majority had worked in public assistance for less than four years, 22 per cent for less than a year. While three-quarters of the workers had college degrees, only nine per cent had specialized in social work and none had obtained a Master's degree in social work.

The sample was drawn from small, medium, and large administrative units. The "small" bureaus were those in which there were at least two but no more than five workers, and no more than a two-level hierarchy. A random sample of six small bureaus was drawn containing a total of 18 workers, all of whom participated in the study. The "medium-sized" bureaus were those that had six or more workers or a three-level hierarchy, but no more than three such levels. Five medium-sized bureaus were selected on a non-random basis, contributing 59 workers who handled ADC cases. The offices ranged in size from six to 22 workers and tended to be located in the more highly industrialized, urban counties. There was only one large bureau, Wayne County; it had a five-level hierarchy, with the positions of ADC division head and director above the level of case supervisor and below the level of bureau director. Thirty-two workers were selected from a pool of 96 ADC workers

[2] The ADC program was set up to enable needy children who are deprived of a parent to receive financial assistance so that a homemaker can remain in the home to care for them. More recent legislation expands the purpose, adding that it should "help maintain and strengthen family life," and help families "attain the maximum self-support and personal independence consistent with the maintenance of continuing parental care and protection. . . ." From "Social Security Amendment of 1956," Section 312.

assigned to two different divisions by choosing four supervisory units at random. The mean number of workers in the small offices was 3.8; comparable figures for medium and large size were 17.4 and 45.5, respectively.

There was a direct relationship between the size of the bureaus and the number of hierarchically ordered strata, since bureaus in the sample were selected by criteria of size and number of strata. For the 83 bureaus in the state there was also a marked positive relationship between the number of employees and the number of strata.[3]

The amount of specialization of function for the worker increased with size. Specialization for three of the four categories of cases was found in the largest bureau in the sample. In the two next largest ones, only a few of the workers had caseloads made up exclusively of ADC recipients, and for the remaining bureaus specialization by type of case was not found.

Characteristics of the workers in the units also differed by size. In the smaller administrative units there were found more older workers, more workers without college degrees, more who had married, more having children, and more workers with long experience in public assistance. The workers in the smaller units, as compared with the larger ones, moreover, lived in a more rural environment.

The personal characteristics of the workers were the only correlates that could be controlled statistically in the analysis of results reported below. There was no satisfactory way to separate the effects of specialization, degree of stratification, and population setting from those of the numbers of workers. Hence, even when the effects of personal characteristics were controlled, there was no way to determine whether it was the number of workers or some other factor that produced the effects. The results presented below were analyzed first without controls for variables operating concomitantly with size and, subsequently, with controls for the personal attributes of the workers. The different sized bureaus are labeled "small" or "large" as a matter of convenience; it should be understood that not merely the number of workers differentiates the offices.

Questionnaires were administered to the participating workers and to their case supervisors in the 12 administrative units. The questions referred to a wide range of variables. One of these, termed *role consensus*, is indicated by the degree of agreement between the public assistance worker and his supervisor about the importance of functions performed by workers. The amount of agreement was assumed to reflect the degree to which workers and supervisors shared a frame of reference regarding the importance of workers' functions. Eleven areas of knowledge and skill (for example, determining financial eligibility, job mechanics, and casework methods) relevant to performance of the role of the public assistance worker were rated for importance on a seven-point scale by workers and supervisors and discrepancy scores were computed.

Another variable, termed *breadth of role conception*, refers to the number of activities or functions conceived as part of the role. In the questionnaire the workers were presented with nine activities (for example, budgeting and referral for vocational counselling) and were asked to indicate for each function whether they "always," "sometimes," or "never" performed it in cases for which that activity, as a type of service, *was needed*. Numerical values were assigned to responses and total scores were computed. The higher the score, the more broadly the role is conceived.

Another aspect of role, often implicit rather than formally defined, is the ethical commitment that it requires of individuals. In public welfare, as well as in other service fields, those responsible for giving the services are guided by ethical precepts. A test of *ethical commitment* was devised to measure some of these, more exactly termed a test of commitment to the ethics of professional social work, since it consists of items relating to seven ethical areas highly endorsed by a sample of 75 professionally trained social workers.[4] The content of the

[3] Relationship between the number of vertical strata and the mean number of workers and clerical personnel were as follows: for one stratum, 2.0 employees; for two strata, 5.6 employees; for three strata, 18.5 employees; and for five strata, 213.0 employees.

[4] This group consisted largely of members of the local chapter of the National Association of Social Workers. Almost every respondent had received

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGES OF WORKERS, SUPERVISORS, AND MEMBERS OF PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION SELECTING "CORRECT" ALTERNATIVES FOR ITEMS OF THE TEST OF COMMITMENT TO THE ETHICS OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORK

Content of Item *	Inferred Underlying Value **	Group		
		Workers (N = 109)	Supervisors (N = 26)	Members of Professional Group (N = 75)
1. In interviewing, sacrifice directness *versus* ask direct questions	humanitarian *versus* utilitarian	49	54	63
2. Motivate by offering information *versus* urge directly	non-coercive *versus* coercive	72	88	97
3. When client is upset, discuss feelings *versus* ignore them	concern *versus* non-concern for client's feelings	83	88	92
4. When client makes you angry, analyze your anger *versus* ignore it	awareness *versus* non-awareness of self as an instrument of change	72	92	97
5. Financial aid given to all *versus* to those who use it wisely	help universally *versus* help selectively	38	68	69
6. Illegitimacy demands focus on helping individual adjust *versus* changing individual	acceptance *versus* non-acceptance of deviance	28	38	74
7. Client making curtains in messy house, compliment *versus* mention housecleaning	positive *versus* negative methods to motivate	60	75	96

* The first of the alternatives for each item is the "correct" one.

** The first of the polarities of underlying values is the one matched to the "correct" alternative for its corresponding item.

items, given in Table 1, may be clustered into two categories: (a) how the worker should behave with a client, and (b) who should receive the benefits of social work services and under what conditions. To complete the validation, the responses of the professionally trained social workers were compared with those of the sample of public assistance supervisors and workers drawn in this study. In contrast to the professionally trained group, the majority of whom had obtained Master's degrees in social work, the public assistance workers generally had little such specialized training. Table 1 shows that the "correct" alternatives are most highly endorsed by the professional group and least highly endorsed by the workers, with the supervisors' responses falling between these extremes.

A final set of measures is related to the quality of the worker's performance on the job. It was possible to learn about the cognitive aspect of performance through indications of the analytic skill of workers as indicated by their ability, first, to identify the problems of families and, second, to propose appropriate treatment plans. To measure the first item, the workers were asked to describe the problems they noted for the members of a family depicted in a case vignette; responses were transformed into a numerical score of diagnostic acuity.[5] To

the degree of Master of Social Work. The questions of the test took the same form for each ethical area. First a problem was presented followed by two opposing alternatives for action a worker might take in such a situation. The assumption underlying the instrument was that each course of action implied a different ethical justification. It is not assumed that all ethical guidelines directing the efforts of workers were sampled in the test, although the ones specified are assumed to be important.

[5] Responses were coded into the following categories: non-existent problems (scored —2), superficially conceived problems (—1), problems manifest in the case (+1), and appropriately inferred underlying problems (+2). Scores were the algebraic sum. Kendall's *tau* is +.74 for the scores of two coders (N = 20).

measure the second aspect of analytic skill, the workers were asked to describe what they would do for the individuals described in the case if they had the required time; responses were coded and scores were obtained for *appropriateness of treatment plans*.[6] A motivational aspect of performance was inferred from responses to a question about how much the worker would like to work on the case described in the vignette.[7]

RESULTS

Workers' conceptions of their roles differed according to the size of the welfare office. In the smaller bureaus there was found to be greater *role consensus* between the worker and his supervisor about the importance of functions that workers perform (Table 2), greater *breadth of role conception* (Table 3), and higher *ethical commitment* (Table 4).

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF WORKERS HAVING LARGE AND SMALL DISCREPANCY SCORES IN *Role Consensus*, BY SIZE OF ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT

Size of Administrative Unit	Discrepancy Score	
	Small (0–1)	Large (2–3)
Small	14	0
Medium	54	4
Large	21	11
	$X^2 = 15.00, p < .01$	

Quality of Performance. The size of the administrative unit was found to be associated with all indicators of the quality of the worker's performance. Those workers scoring high on the three measures are much more likely to be in the small bureaus than in the larger ones (Table 5).

TABLE 3. NUMBER OF WORKERS CONCEIVING THEIR ROLES NARROWLY AND BROADLY, BY SIZE OF ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT

Size of Administrative Unit	Breadth of Role Conception	
	Narrow (0–4)	Broad (5–8)
Small	4	14
Medium	20	37
Large	18	14
	$X^2 = 6.48, p < .05$	

The Effects of Personal Background Factors. Analyses were made with controls for age, education, experience on the job, marital status, and number of children. This procedure involved the relationship between organizational size and a dependent variable, holding constant the control factor whenever it was found that the control characteristic was associated with the dependent variable. The .05 level of significance was used as a choice point.

Using this technique, age is the only control factor related both to the size of bureaus and the magnitude of discrepancy of *role consensus*. Although the smaller bureaus had more older workers and more workers with small discrepancy scores, the effects of size remained with age held constant.[8]

TABLE 4. NUMBER OF WORKERS SCORING HIGH AND LOW ON *Ethical Commitment*, BY SIZE OF ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT

Size of Administrative Unit	Scores on Ethical Commitment	
	Low (1–4)	High (5–7)
Small	3	15
Medium	35	23
Large	26	6
	$X^2 = 20.04, p < .001$	

[6] Responses were coded into plans inappropriate to the case (scored −2), plans to aid with manifest problems (+1), and plans to help with appropriately inferred underlying problems (+2). Scores were the alebraic sum. Kendall's *tau* is +.80 for the scores of two coders (N = 20).

[7] For the most part, the interrelationships among these variables are positive. Scores on diagnostic acumen are directly related to scores on appropriateness of treatment plans ($X^2 = 18.25$, $p < .001$) and on ethical commitment ($X^2 = 9.31$, $p < .01$); they bear no relationship, however, to motivation to help recipients. Scores on appropriateness of treatment plan are not related to those on ethical commitment, but are related to those of motivation to help recipients ($X^2 = 6.85$, $p < .01$). Scores on ethical commitment are positively associated with those on motivation to help recipients ($X^2 = 4.11$, $p < .05$).

[8] The percentages of workers under 39 years of age with low discrepancy scores for the small, medium, and large bureaus are 100, 84, and 69, respectively; for workers 40 years or older the comparable percentages are 100, 100, and 40. The *N*s are too small to compute statistical tests.

TABLE 5. NUMBER OF WORKERS SCORING HIGH AND LOW ON MEASURES OF THE QUALITY OF PERFORMANCE, BY SIZE OF ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT

Size of Administrative Unit	Scores on Diagnostic Acuity		Scores on Appropriateness of Treatment Plan		Motivation to Help Recipients	
	High (4–8)	Low (0–3)	High (5–7)	Low (0–4)	High (3–7)	Low (1, 2)
Small	13	5	14	4	15	3
Medium	23	36	21	38	21	38
Large	6	25	10	20	12	19
	$X^2 = 13.46, p < .01$		$X^2 = 11.26, p < .01$		$X^2 = 13.30, p < .01$	

Two of the control factors are closely associated with the *breadth of role conception*. Broadly conceived roles were found more often for older workers and for those with lengthy experience in public assistance; the first relationship yields a X^2 of 17.73, the second a X^2 of 16.21, both giving p values of less than .001. When age and experience are controlled, size is no longer related to the *breadth of role conception*. Since there were more older workers and workers with longer experience in the smaller units, age and experience, and not other factors associated with size, account for the breadth of conception of roles.

Both the education and experience of workers are related to scores of *ethical commitment*. The less well educated and those with longer experience on the job most frequently show high as opposed to low scores on ethical commitment; the X^2 is 8.51 for the former ($p < .01$) and 4.05 for the latter ($p < .05$). The effects of size remain, however, when education and experience are each held constant.[9]

The only control variable found to be related to any of the three indicators of the quality of the worker's performance was the number of children the workers had; those workers having children had higher scores on motivation to help recipients than did those having no children ($X^2 = 5.40$, $p < .05$). The effects of size remained for workers with or without children.[10]

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Why should the variables examined here be associated with organizational size? Like many others, size is not a "pure" variable—a single unitary phenomenon. Size is more like an index because of its relationship to a complement of variables associated with the number of persons in the organization. The findings of this study provide suggestions about these variables, but offer few clues about *why* they are associated with size or about their interrelationships. We now turn to these questions.

Most of our results may be accounted for plausibly in terms of the population and the community setting of the county in which the welfare bureau was located. The size of the bureau itself depends largely upon the population size of a county, since the more populous counties are likely to contain

[9] The percentages of workers with bachelor's or higher degrees having high scores for the small, medium, and large bureaus were respectively 60, 32, and 13 ($X^2 = 5.31$, $p < .06$); for workers having attained less than a bachelor's degree, the percentages for small, medium, and large bureaus were 91, 47, and 37 ($X^2 = 8.24$, $p < .02$). The percentages of workers with less than four years' experience having high scores for the small, medium, and large bureaus were respectively 50, 31, and 17 ($X^2 = 10.56$, $p < .01$); for workers with more than four years of experience, the percentages for the small, medium, and large bureaus were 78, 48, 16 ($X^2 = 9.92$, $p < .01$).

[10] The percentages of childless workers having high scores in the small, medium, and large bureaus are, respectively, 71, 22, and 33 ($X^2 = 5.80$, $p < .06$); for those workers with one or more children, the percentages in the small, medium, and large bureaus are 91, 44, and 57 ($X^2 = 7.39$, $p < .05$).

more individuals in need of welfare assistance. Although organizational size bears no necessary relationship to the population of the area in which the organization is located, one may be an index of the other to the extent that (a) the organizational unit serves a portion of the population, as does a welfare bureau, and (b) the unit is located by such arbitrary geographical criteria as county, state, or region.

The association of the workers' personal characteristics with the size of welfare bureaus probably indicates that the pool of potential employees in the counties with large populations differs from those with small populations. Available information indicates that some of the contrasts between workers in the smaller and the larger bureaus parallel those between rural residents and residents of cities.[11] This study provides no information about whether or not there is also selective retention of workers as a conquence of bureau size.

Roles were found to be more broadly conceived by workers in the smaller bureaus. The control analysis shows that age and experience account for the breadth of conception of roles. Welfare workers in rural areas change jobs less often than their urban counterparts, partly because there are fewer occupational alternatives and fewer welfare jobs from which to choose that pay as well or better than public assistance.[12] Rural welfare workers therefore would be expected to be older and more experienced than urban ones. Furthermore, rural areas contain fewer specialized social services, making it necessary for the welfare worker in the rural area to take over informally more functions as part of her role than her urban colleagues.

Another correlate of organizational size is the ethical commitment of workers. Differences in ethical commitment can not be attributed to variations of professionalization, for none of the workers had had professional training in social work. The community setting of the welfare offices and the rural background of the workers account for the workers' ethical orientation most adequately. High scores on the test indicate a generally more positive approach to recipients—an approach probably growing out of a more intimate relationship with recipients in the smaller communities. The writer has been told by experienced welfare workers of the differences between working in the smaller and the larger urban communities. In the small community they note that there is more frequent community contact with recipients; perception of recipients as individuals more often than as "clients"; less social distance between worker and recipient, due in part to similarity of ethnic background; and greater need to attend to more of the recipients' problems. Consequently, the worker in the small bureau is more likely to be willing to assume greater personal responsibility for the recipient and to have more compassion for the recipient as a person than the worker in an urban bureau.

The attitude of helpfulness toward others and the "positive" approach to recipients engendered by the small community probably explain why workers in the small bureaus evidenced performance of higher quality than those in the larger ones. The measures of quality of performance were skill in analyzing problems of recipients, appropriateness of treatment plans, and motivation to help recipients—all of which reflect the extent of the worker's willingness to do a complete and adequate job of helping recipients. That the rural workers are more willing than those in urban settings to help recipients and to put forth the extra effort needed to analyze thoroughly the recipients' problems and to propose suitable treatment is consistent with the earlier observations about the small community.

The community setting of the bureaus does not readily explain why size is related to role consensus. Past theoretical and empirical work indicates that consensus is likely to be greater in small than in large groups.[13]

[11] Persons residing in rural areas are less well educated, more often married, generally more fertile, and less mobile occupationally than urbanites. See Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, *Urban Society* (Fourth Edition), New York: Crowell, 1956.

[12] This conclusion is supported by information provided by the Michigan State Department of Social Welfare.

[13] See Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949, pp. 80–131; and A. Paul Hare, *op. cit.*, pp. 507–518. It may be noted the small group provides conditions well-suited to the development of consensus: there is likely to be a relatively rapid rate of interaction and a relatively smaller divergence of opinion and behavior, due to a smaller range of opinion and behavior than in large groups.

In this study, size alone is probably not the only organizational characteristic contributing to role consensus.

Another correlate of organizational size is the extent to which there was vertical and horizontal differentiation. Size enables differentiation to occur by providing a larger number of persons over whom functions may be distributed and by increasing the range of individual skill and ability needed to give feasibly different assignments to persons. In the organizational units studied here, differentiation in the larger bureaus was further facilitated by administrative policy stipulating the proportion of supervisory personnel required for a given number of workers and by the belief that specialized handling of cases is efficient only in the largest bureaus.

This discussion of the correlates of organizational size suggests that the number of workers may be a less potent variable in affecting the behavior of members than the community setting of the organizational unit. Studies of organizational units of an extended bureaucracy differing in size should be undertaken where it is possible to differentiate them in terms of the population size and type of community in which the units are located.

From another viewpoint, some of the variables used in this study can be said to reflect organizational effectiveness in providing services to families. These variables include the measures of the quality of work, ethical commitment, and breadth of role conception signified by the number of different services workers would perform for families were they needed. These three indications of service are negatively associated with the size of the organizational unit: the smaller bureaus show greater commitment to the ethics of professional social work, greater breadth of role conception, and better quality of work. To the extent that these variables reflect differences in performance of workers, the results indicate that the organizational goal of providing services to recipients was more effectively attained in the smaller welfare bureaus.

The findings of the study do not help to answer the question of how effectively the bureaus attained the organizational goal of determining eligibility for financial assistance.

Why were the small bureaus better able than the larger ones to provide services to families? If the interpretations of the findings presented above are correct, it is largely because the influences of the small community encourage a service orientation toward recipients. The impact of community setting thus may be viewed as reaffirming the significance of the secondary organizational goal, that of providing services, through orienting workers more toward the service aspects of their roles. The part played by the actual size of the welfare bureau is probably minimal, except in so far as it serves to mediate, through primary relationships, the service goal. The fact that role consensus was greater in the smaller bureaus may indicate greater cohesion of the primary groups and readier acceptance of the goal to provide service.

THE THEORETICAL IMPORTANCE OF LOVE *

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Love is analyzed as an element of social action and therefore of social structure. Although the romantic complex is rare, a "love pattern" is found in a wide range of societies. Since love is potentially disruptive of lineages and class strata, it must be controlled. Since its meaning is different within different social structures, it is controlled by various measures. The five principal types of "love control" are described. Disruptions are more important to the upper social strata who possess the means for control. Therefore these strata achieve a higher degree of control over both the occurrence of love relationships and the influence of love upon action.

BECAUSE love often determines the intensity of an attraction [1] toward or away from an intimate relationship with another person, it can become one element in a decision or action.[2] Nevertheless, serious sociological attention has only infrequently been given to love. Moreover, analyses of love generally have been confined to mate choice in the Western World, while the structural importance of love has been for the most part ignored. The present paper views love in a broad perspective, focusing on the structural patterns by which societies keep in check the potentially disruptive effect of love relationships on mate choice and stratification systems.

TYPES OF LITERATURE ON LOVE

For obvious reasons, the printed material on love is immense. For our present purposes, it may be classified as follows:

1. Poetic, humanistic, literary, erotic, pornographic: By far the largest body of all literature on love views it as a sweeping experience. The poet arouses our sympathy and empathy. The essayist enjoys, and asks the reader to enjoy, the interplay of people in love. The storyteller—Bocaccio, Chaucer, Dante—pulls back the curtain of human souls and lets the reader watch the intimate lives of others caught in an emotion we all know. Others—Vatsyayana, Ovid, William IX Count of Poitiers and Duke of Aquitaine, Marie de France, Andreas Capellanus—have written how-to-do-it books, that is, how to conduct oneself in love relations, to persuade others to succumb to one's love wishes, or to excite and satisfy one's sex partner.[3]

2. Marital counseling: Many modern sociologists have commented on the importance of romantic love in America and its lesser importance in other societies, and have disparaged it as a poor basis for marriage, or as immaturity. Perhaps the best known of these arguments are those of Ernest R. Mowrer, Ernest W. Burgess, Mabel A. Elliott, Andrew G. Truxal, Francis E. Merrill, and Ernest R. Groves.[4] The antithesis of roman-

* This paper was completed under a grant (No. M-2526-S) by the National Institute of Mental Health.

[1] On the psychological level, the motivational power of both love and sex is intensified by this curious fact: (which I have not seen remarked on elsewhere) Love is the most projective of emotions, as sex is the most projective of drives; only with great difficulty can the attracted person believe that the object of his love or passion does not and will not reciprocate the feeling at all. Thus, the person may carry his action quite far, before accepting a rejection as genuine.

[2] I have treated decision analysis extensively in an unpublished paper by that title.

[3] Vatsyayana, *The Kama Sutra,* Delhi: Rajkamal, 1948; Ovid, "The Loves," and "Remedies of Love," in *The Art of Love,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939; Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love,* translated by John J. Parry, New York: Columbia University Press, 1941; Paul Tuffrau, editor, *Marie de France: Les Lais de Marie de France,* Paris L'edition d'art, 1925; see also Julian Harris, *Marie de France,* New York: Institute of French Studies, 1930, esp. Chapter 3. All authors but the first *also* had the goal of writing literature.

[4] Ernest R. Mowrer, *Family Disorganization,* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927, pp. 158–165; Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, *The Family,* New York: American Book, 1953, pp. 436–437; Mabel A. Elliott and Francis E. Merrill, *Social Disorganization,* New York: Harper, 1950, pp. 366–384; Andrew G. Truxal and Francis E. Merrill, *The Family in American Cul-*

tic love, in such analyses, is "conjugal" love; the love between a settled, domestic couple.

A few sociologists, remaining within this same evaluative context, have instead claimed that love also has salutary effects in our society. Thus, for example, William L. Kolb [5] has tried to demonstrate that the marital counselors who attack romantic love are really attacking some fundamental values of our larger society, such as individualism, freedom, and personality growth. Beigel [6] has argued that if the female is sexually repressed, only the psychotherapist or love can help her overcome her inhibitions. He claims further that one influence of love in our society is that it extenuates illicit sexual relations; he goes on to assert: "Seen in proper perspective, [love] has not only done no harm as a prerequisite to marriage, but it has mitigated the impact that a too-fast-moving and unorganized conversion to new socio-economic constellations has had upon our whole culture and it has saved monogamous marriage from complete disorganization."

In addition, there is widespread comment among marriage analysts, that in a rootless society, with few common bases for companionship, romantic love holds a couple together long enough to allow them to begin marriage. That is, it functions to attract people powerfully together, and to hold them through the difficult first months of the marriage, when their different backgrounds would otherwise make an adjustment troublesome.

3. Although the writers cited above concede the structural importance of love implicitly, since they are arguing that it is either harmful or helpful to various values and goals of our society, a third group has given explicit if unsystematic attention to its structural importance. Here, most of the available propositions point to the functions of love, but a few deal with the conditions under which love relationships occur. They include:

(1) An implicit or assumed descriptive proposition is that love as a common prelude to and basis of marriage is rare, perhaps to be found as a pattern only in the United States.

(2) Most explanations of the conditions which create love are psychological, stemming from Freud's notion that love is "aim-inhibited sex." [7] This idea is expressed, for example, by Waller who says that love is an idealized passion which develops from the frustration of sex.[8] This proposition, although rather crudely stated and incorrect as a general explanation, is widely accepted.

(3) Of course, a predisposition to love is created by the socialization experience. Thus some textbooks on the family devote extended discussion to the ways in which our society socializes for love. The child, for example, is told that he or she will grow up to fall in love with some one, and early attempts are made to pair the child with children of the opposite sex. There is much joshing of children about falling in love; myths and stories about love and courtship are heard by children; and so on.

(4) A further proposition (the source of which I have not been able to locate) is that, in a society in which a very close attachment between parent and child prevails, a love complex is necessary in order to motivate the child to free him from his attachment to his parents.

(5) Love is also described as one final or crystallizing element in the decision to marry, which is otherwise structured by factors such as class, ethnic origin, religion, education, and residence.

(6) Parsons has suggested three factors which "underlie the prominence of the romantic context in our culture": (a) the youth culture frees the individual from family attachments, thus permitting him to fall in love; (b) love is a substitute for the interlocking of kinship roles found in other societies, and thus motivates the individual to conform to proper marital role behavior; and (c) the structural isolation of the family so frees the married partners' affective inclinations that they are able to love one another.[9]

(7) Robert F. Winch has developed a theory of "complementary needs" which essentially states that the underlying dynamic

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ture, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1947, pp. 120–124, 507–509; Ernest R. Groves and Gladys Hoagland Groves, *The Contemporary American Family,* New York: Lippincott, 1947, pp. 321–324.

[5] William L. Kolb, "Sociologically Established Norms and Democratic Values," *Social Forces,* 26 (May, 1948), pp. 451–456.

[6] Hugo G. Beigel, "Romantic Love," *American Sociological Review,* 16 (June, 1951), pp. 326–334.

[7] Sigmund Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego,* London: Hogarth, 1922, p. 72.

[8] Willard Waller, *The Family,* New York: Dryden, 1938, pp. 189–192.

[9] Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory,* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949, pp. 187–189.

in the process of falling in love is an interaction between (a) the perceived psychological attributes of one individual and (b) the complementary psychological attributes of the person falling in love, such that the needs of the latter are felt to be met by the perceived attributes of the former and *vice versa*. These needs are derived from Murray's list of personality characteristics. Winch thus does not attempt to solve the problem of why our society has a love complex, but how it is that specific individuals fall in love with each other rather than with someone else.[10]

(8) Winch and others have also analyzed the effect of love upon various institutions or social patterns: Love themes are prominently displayed in the media of entertainment and communication, in consumption patterns, and so on.[11]

4. Finally, there is the cross-cultural work of anthropologists, who in the main have ignored love as a factor of importance in kinship patterns. The implicit understanding seems to be that love as a pattern is found only in the United States, although of course individual cases of love are sometimes recorded. The term "love" is practically never found in indexes of anthropological monographs on specific societies or in general anthropology textbooks. It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that Lowie's comment of a generation ago would still be accepted by a substantial number of anthropologists:

> But of love among savages? . . . Passion, of course, is taken for granted; affection, which many travelers vouch for, might be conceded; but Love? Well, the romantic sentiment occurs in simpler conditions, as with us—in fiction. . . . So Love exists for the savage as it does for ourselves—in adolescence, in fiction, among the poetically minded.[12]

A still more skeptical opinion is Linton's scathing sneer:

> All societies recognize that there are occasional violent, emotional attachments between persons of opposite sex, but our present American culture is practically the only one which has attempted to capitalize these, and make them the basis for marriage. . . . The hero of the modern American movie is always a romantic lover, just as the hero of the old Arab epic is always an epileptic. A cynic may suspect that in any ordinary population the percentage of individuals with a capacity for romantic love of the Hollywood type was about as large as that of persons able to throw genuine epileptic fits.[13]

In Murdock's book on kinship and marriage, there is almost no mention, if any, of love.[14] Should we therefore conclude that, cross-culturally, love is not important, and thus cannot be of great importance structurally? If there is only one significant case, perhaps it is safe to view love as generally unimportant in social structure and to concentrate rather on the nature and functions of romantic love within the Western societies in which love is obviously prevalent. As brought out below, however, many anthropologists have in fact described love *patterns*. And one of them, Max Gluckman,[15] has recently subsumed a wide range of observations under the broad principle that love relationships between husband and wife estrange the couple from their kin, who therefore try in various ways to undermine that love. This principle is applicable to many more societies (for example, China and India) than Gluckman himself discusses.

THE PROBLEM AND ITS CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

The preceding propositions (except those denying that love is distributed widely) can be grouped under two main questions: What are the consequences of romantic love in the United States? How is the emotion of love aroused or created in our society? The present paper deals with the first question. For theoretical purposes both questions must be reformulated, however, since they implicitly refer only to our peculiar system of romantic love. Thus: (1) In what ways do various love patterns fit into the social structure, especially into the systems of mate choice and stratification? (2) What are the structural conditions under which a range of love patterns occurs in various societies?

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[10] Robert F. Winch, *Mate Selection*, New York: Harper, 1958.

[11] See, e.g., Robert F. Winch, *The Modern Family*, New York: Holt, 1952, Chapter 14.

[12] Robert H. Lowie, "Sex and Marriage," in John F. McDermott, editor, *The Sex Problem in Modern Society*, New York: Modern Library, 1931, p. 146.

[13] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, New York: Appleton-Century, 1936, p. 175.

[14] George Peter Murdock, *Social Structure*, New York: Macmillan, 1949.

[15] Max Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955, Chapter 3.

These are overlapping questions, but their starting point and assumptions are different. The first assumes that love relationships are a universal psychosocial possibility, and that different social systems make different adjustments to their potential disruptiveness. The second does not take love for granted, and supposes rather that such relationships will be rare unless certain structural factors are present. Since in both cases the analysis need not depend upon the correctness of the assumption, the problem may be chosen arbitrarily. Let us begin with the first.[16]

We face at once the problem of defining "love." Here, love is defined as a strong emotional attachment, a cathexis, between adolescents or adults of opposite sexes, with at least the components of sex desire and tenderness. Verbal definitions of this emotional relationship are notoriously open to attack; this one is no more likely to satisfy critics than others. Agreement is made difficult by value judgments: one critic would exclude anything but "true" love, another casts out "infatuation," another objects to "puppy love," while others would separate sex desire from love because sex presumably is degrading. Nevertheless, most of us have had the experience of love, just as we have been greedy, or melancholy, or moved by hate (defining "true" hate seems not to be a problem). The experience can be referred to without great ambiguity, and a refined measure of various degrees of intensity or purity of love is unnecessary for the aims of the present analysis.

Since love may be related in diverse ways to the social structure, it is necessary to forego the dichotomy of "romantic love—no romantic love" in favor of a continuum or range between polar types. At one pole, a strong love attraction is socially viewed as a laughable or tragic aberration; at the other, it is mildly shameful to marry without being in love with one's intended spouse. This is a gradation from negative sanction to positive approval, ranging at the same time from low or almost nonexistent institutionalization of love to high institutionalization.

The urban middle classes of contemporary Western society, especially in the United States, are found toward the latter pole. Japan and China, in spite of the important movement toward European patterns, fall toward the pole of low institutionalization. Village and urban India is farther toward the center, for there the ideal relationship has been one which at least generated love after marriage, and sometimes after betrothal, in contrast with the mere respect owed between Japanese and Chinese spouses.[17] Greece after Alexander, Rome of the Empire, and perhaps the later period of the Roman Republic as well, are near the center, but somewhat toward the pole of institutionalization, for love matches appear to have increased in frequency—a trend denounced by moralists.[18]

This conceptual continuum helps to clarify our problem and to interpret the propositions reviewed above. Thus it may be noted, first, that individual love relationships may occur even in societies in which love is viewed as irrelevant to mate choice and excluded from the decision to marry. As Linton conceded, some violent love attachments may be found in any society. In our own, the Song of Solomon, Jacob's love of Rachel, and Michal's love for David are classic tales. The Mahabharata, the great Indian epic, includes love themes. Romantic love appears early in Japanese literature, and the use of Mt. Fuji as a locale for the suicide of star crossed lovers is not a myth invented by editors of tabloids. There is the familiar tragic Chinese story to be found on the traditional "willowplate," with its lovers transformed into doves. And so it goes—individual love relationships seem to occur everywhere. But this fact does not change the position of a society on the continuum.

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[16] I hope to deal with the second problem in another paper.

[17] Tribal India, of course, is too heterogeneous to place in any one position on such a continuum. The question would have to be answered for each tribe. Obviously it is of less importance here whether China and Japan, in recent decades, have moved "two points over" toward the opposite pole of high approval of love relationships as a basis for marriage than that both systems as classically described viewed love as generally a tragedy; and love was supposed to be irrelevant to marriage, i.e., noninstitutionalized. The continuum permits us to place a system at some position, once we have the descriptive data.

[18] See Ludwig Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* (Seventh Edition), translated by A. Magnus, New York: Dutton, 1908, Vol. 1, Chapter 5, "The Position of Women."

Second, reading both Linton's and Lowie's comments in this new conceptual context reduces their theoretical importance, for they are both merely saying that people do not *live by* the romantic complex, here or anywhere else. Some few couples in love will brave social pressures, physical dangers, or the gods themselves, but nowhere is this usual. Violent, self-sufficient love is not common anywhere. In this respect, of course, the U. S. is not set apart from other systems.

Third, we can separate a *love pattern* from the romantic love *complex*. Under the former, love is a permissible, expected prelude to marriage, and a usual element of courtship—thus, at about the center of the continuum, but toward the pole of institutionalization. The romantic love complex (one pole of the continuum) includes, in addition, an ideological prescription that falling in love is a highly desirable basis of courtship and marriage; love is strongly institutionalized.[19] In contemporary United States, many individuals would even claim that entering marriage without being in love requires some such rationalization as asserting that one is too old for such romances or that one must "think of practical matters like money." To be sure, both anthropologists and sociologists often exaggerate the American commitment to romance; [20] nevertheless, a behavioral and value complex of this type is found here.

But this complex is rare. Perhaps only the following cultures possess the romantic love value complex: modern urban United States, Northwestern Europe, Polynesia, and the European nobility of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[21] Certainly, it is to be found in no other major civilization. On the other hand, the *love pattern*, which views love as a basis for the final decision to marry, may be relatively common.

WHY LOVE MUST BE CONTROLLED

Since strong love attachments apparently can occur in any society and since (as we shall show) love is frequently a basis for and prelude to marriage, it must be controlled or channeled in some way. More specifically, the stratification and lineage patterns would be weakened greatly if love's potentially disruptive effects were not kept in check. The importance of this situation may be seen most clearly by considering one of the major functions of the family, status placement, which in every society links the structures of stratification, kinship lines, and mate choice. (To show how the very similar comments which have been made about sex are not quite correct would take us too far afield; in any event, to the extent that they are correct, the succeeding analysis applies equally to the control of sex.)

Both the child's placement in the social structure and choice of mates are socially important because both placement and choice link two kinship lines together. Courtship or mate choice, therefore, cannot be ignored by either family or society. To permit random mating would mean radical change in the existing social structure. If the family as a unit of society is important, then mate choice is too.

Kinfolk or immediate family can disregard the question of who marries whom, only if a marriage is not seen as a link between kin lines, only if no property, power, lineage honor, totemic relationships, and the like are believed to flow from the kin lines through the spouses to their offspring. Universally, however, these are believed to follow kin lines. Mate choice thus has consequences

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[19] For a discussion of the relation between behavior patterns and the process of institutionalization, see my *After Divorce*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956, Chapter 15.

[20] See Ernest W. Burgess and Paul W. Wallin, *Engagement and Marriage*, New York: Lippincott, 1953, Chapter 7 for the extent to which even the engaged are not blind to the defects of their beloveds. No one has ascertained the degree to which various age and sex groups in our society actually believe in some form of the ideology.

Similarly, Margaret Mead in *Coming of Age in Samoa*, New York: Modern Library, 1953, rates Manu'an love as shallow, and though these Samoans give much attention to love-making, she asserts that they laughed with incredulous contempt at Romeo and Juliet (pp. 155–156). Though the individual sufferer showed jealousy and anger, the Manu'ans believed that a new love would quickly cure a betrayed lover (pp. 105–108). It is possible that Mead failed to understand the shallowness of love in our own society: Romantic love is, "in our civilization, inextricably bound up with ideas of monogamy, exclusiveness, jealousy, and undeviating fidelity" (p. 105). But these are *ideas* and ideology; *behavior* is rather different.

[21] I am preparing an analysis of this case. The relation of "courtly love" to social structure is complicated.

for the social structure. But love may affect mate choice. Both mate choice and love, therefore, are too important to be left to children.

THE CONTROL OF LOVE

Since considerable energy and resources may be required to push youngsters who are in love into proper role behavior, love must be controlled *before* it appears. Love relationships must either be kept to a small number or they must be so directed that they do not run counter to the approved kinship linkages. There are only a few institutional patterns by which this control is achieved.

1. Certainly the simplest, and perhaps the most widely used, structural pattern for coping with this problem is child marriage. If the child is betrothed, married, or both before he has had any opportunity to interact intimately as an adolescent with other children, then he has no resources with which to oppose the marriage. He cannot earn a living, he is physically weak, and is socially dominated by his elders. Moreover, strong love attachments occur only rarely before puberty. An example of this pattern was to be found in India, where the young bride went to live with her husband in a marriage which was not physically consummated until much later, within his father's household.[22]

2. Often, child marriage is linked with a second structural pattern, in which the kinship rules define rather closely a class of eligible future spouses. The marriage is determined by birth within narrow limits. Here, the major decision, which is made by elders, is *when* the marriage is to occur. Thus, among the Murngin, *galle,* the father's sister's child, is scheduled to marry *due,* the mother's brother's child.[23] In the case of the "four-class" double-descent system, each individual is a member of *both* a matri-moiety and a patri-moiety and must marry someone who belongs to neither; the four-classes are (1) ego's own class, (2) those whose matri-moiety is the same as ego's but whose patri-moiety is different, (3) those who are in ego's patri-moiety but not in his matri-moiety, and (4) those who are in neither of ego's moieties, that is, who are in the cell diagonally from his own.[24] Problems arise at times under these systems if the appropriate kinship cell—for example, parallel cousin or cross-cousin—is empty.[25] But nowhere, apparently, is the definition so rigid as to exclude some choice and, therefore, some dickering, wrangling, and haggling between the elders of the two families.

3. A society can prevent widespread development of adolescent love relationships by socially isolating young people from potential mates, whether eligible or ineligible as spouses. Under such a pattern, elders can arrange the marriages of either children or adolescents with little likelihood that their plans will be disrupted by love attachments. Obviously, this arrangement cannot operate effectively in most primitive societies, where youngsters see one another rather frequently.[26]

Not only is this pattern more common in civilizations than in primitive societies, but is found more frequently in the upper social strata. *Social* segregation is difficult unless it is supported by physical segregation—the harem of Islam, the zenana of India[27]—or

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[22] Frieda M. Das, *Purdah,* New York: Vanguard, 1932; Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951, p. 112. There was a widespread custom of taking one's bride from a village other than one's own.

[23] W. Lloyd Warner, *Black Civilization,* New York: Harper, 1937, pp. 82–84. They may also become "sweethearts" at puberty; see pp. 86–89.

[24] See Murdock, *op. cit.,* pp. 53 ff. *et passim* for discussions of double-descent.

[25] One adjustment in Australia was for the individuals to leave the tribe for a while, usually eloping, and then to return "reborn" under a different and now appropriate kinship designation. In any event, these marital prescriptions did not prevent love entirely. As Malinowski shows in his early summary of the Australian family systems, although every one of the tribes used the technique of infant betrothal (and close prescription of mate), no tribe was free of elopements, between either the unmarried or the married, and the "motive of sexual love" was always to be found in marriages by elopement. B. Malinowski. *The Family Among the Australian Aborigines,* London: University of London Press, 1913, p. 83.

[26] This pattern was apparently achieved in Manus, where on first menstruation the girl was removed from her playmates and kept at "home"—on stilts over a lagoon—under the close supervision of elders. The Manus were prudish, and love occurred rarely or never. Margaret Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea,* in *From the South Seas,* New York: Morrow, 1939, pp. 163–166, 208.

[27] See Das, *op. cit.*

by a large household system with individuals whose duty it is to supervise nubile girls. Social segregation is thus expensive. Perhaps the best known example of simple social segregation was found in China, where youthful marriages took place between young people who had not previously met because they lived in different villages; they could not marry fellow-villagers since ideally almost all inhabitants belonged to the same *tsu*.[28]

It should be emphasized that the primary function of physical or social isolation in these cases is to minimize informal or intimate social interaction. Limited social contacts of a highly ritualized or formal type in the presence of elders, as in Japan, have a similar, if less extreme, result.[29]

4. A fourth type of pattern seems to exist, although it is not clear cut; and specific cases shade off toward types three and five. Here, there is close supervision by duennas or close relatives, but not actual social segregation. A high value is placed on female chastity (which perhaps is the case in every major civilization until its "decadence") viewed either as the product of self-restraint, as among the 17th Century Puritans, or as a marketable commodity. Thus love as play is not developed; marriage is supposed to be considered by the young as a duty and a possible family alliance. This pattern falls between types three and five because love is permitted before marriage, but only between eligibles. Ideally, it occurs only between a betrothed couple, and, except as marital love, there is no encouragement for it to appear at all. Family elders largely make the specific choice of mate, whether or not intermediaries carry out the arrangements. In the preliminary stages youngsters engage in courtship under supervision, with the understanding that this will permit the development of affection prior to marriage.

I do not believe that the empirical data show where this pattern is prevalent, outside of Western Civilization. The West is a special case, because of its peculiar relationship to Christianity, in which from its earliest days in Rome there has been a complex tension between asceticism and love. This type of limited love marked French, English, and Italian upper class family life from the 11th to the 14th Centuries, as well as 17th Century Puritanism in England and New England.[30]

5. The fifth type of pattern permits or actually encourages love relationships, and love is a commonly expected element in mate choice. Choice in this system is *formally* free. In their 'teens youngsters begin their love play, with or without consummating sexual intercourse, within a group of peers. They may at times choose love partners whom they and others do not consider suitable spouses. Gradually, however, their range of choice is narrowed and eventually their affections center on one individual. This person is likely to be more eligible as a mate according to general social norms, and as judged by peers and parents, than the aver-

[28] For the activities of the *tsu*, see Hsien Chin Hu, *The Common Descent Group in China and Its Functions*, New York: Viking Fund Studies in Anthropology, 10 (1948). For the marriage process, see Marion J. Levy, *The Family Revolution in Modern China*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949, pp. 87–107. See also Olga Lang, *Chinese Family and Society*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946, for comparisons between the old and new systems. In one-half of 62 villages in Ting Hsien Experimental District in Hopei, the largest clan included 50 per cent of the families; in 25 per cent of the villages, the two largest clans held over 90 per cent of the families; I am indebted to Robert M. Marsh who has been carrying out a study of Ching mobility partly under my direction for this reference: F. C. H. Lee, *Ting Hsien. She-hui K'ai-K'uang t'iao-ch'a*, Peiping: Chung-hua p'ing-min Chiao-yu ts'u-chin hui, 1932, p. 54. See also Sidney Gamble, *Ting Hsien: A North China Rural Community*, New York: International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1954.

[29] For Japan, see Shidzué Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways*, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935, Chapters 6, 8; John F. Embree, *Suye Mura*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950, Chapters 3, 6.

[30] I do not mean, of course, to restrict this pattern to these times and places, but I am more certain of these. For the Puritans, see Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family*, Boston: Public Library, 1944. For the somewhat different practices in New York, see Charles E. Ironside, *The Family in Colonial New York*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. See also: A. Abram, *English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages*, New York: Dutton, 1913, Chapters 4, 10; Emily J. Putnam, *The Lady*, New York: Sturgis and Walton, 1910, Chapter 4; James Gairdner, editor, *The Paston Letters, 1422–1509*, 4 vols., London: Arber, 1872–1875; Eileen Power, "The Position of Women," in C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacobs, editors, *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1926, pp. 414–416.

age individual with whom the youngster formerely indulged in love play.

For reasons that are not yet clear, this pattern is nearly always associated with a strong development of an adolescent peer group system, although the latter may occur without the love pattern. One source of social control, then, is the individual's own 'teen age companions, who persistently rate the present and probable future accomplishments of each individual.[31]

Another source of control lies with the parents of both boy and girl. In our society, parents threaten, cajole, wheedle, bribe, and persuade their children to "go with the right people," during both the early love play and later courtship phases.[32] Primarily, they seek to control love relationships by influencing the informal social contacts of their children: moving to appropriate neighborhoods and schools, giving parties and helping to make out invitation lists, by making their children aware that certain individuals have ineligibility traits (race, religion, manners, tastes, clothing, and so on). Since youngsters fall in love with those with whom they associate, control over informal relationships also controls substantially the focus of affection. The results of such control are well known and are documented in the more than one hundred studies of homogamy in this country: most marriages take place between couples in the same class, religious, racial, and educational levels.

As Robert Wikman has shown in a generally unfamiliar (in the United States) but superb investigation, this pattern was found among 18th Century Swedish farmer adolescents, was widely distributed in other Germanic areas, and extends in time from the 19th Century back to almost certainly the late Middle Ages.[33] In these cases, sexual intercourse was taken for granted, social contact was closely supervised by the peer group, and final consent to marriage was withheld or granted by the parents who owned the land.

Such cases are not confined to Western society. Polynesia exhibits a similar pattern, with some variation from society to society, the best known examples of which are perhaps Mead's Manu'ans and Firth's Tikopia.[34] Probably the most familiar Melanesian cases are the Trobriands and Dobu,[35] where the systems resemble those of the Kiwai Papuans of the Trans-Fly and the Siuai Papuans of the Solomon Islands.[36] Linton found this pattern among the Tanala.[37] Although Radcliffe-Brown holds that the pattern is not common in Africa, it is clearly found among the Nuer, the Kgatla (Tswana-speaking), and the Bavenda (here, without sanctioned sexual intercourse).[38]

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[31] For those who believe that the young in the United States are totally deluded by love, or believe that love outranks every other consideration, see: Ernest W. Burgess and Paul W. Wallin, *Engagement and Marriage,* New York: Lippincott, 1953, pp. 217–238. Note Karl Robert V. Wikman, *Die Einleitung Der Ehe. Acta Academiae Aboensis (Humaniora),* 11 (1937), pp. 127 ff. Not only are reputations known because of close association among peers, but songs and poetry are sometimes composed about the girl or boy. Cf., for the Tikopia, Raymond Firth, *We, the Tikopia,* New York: American Book, 1936, pp. 468 ff.; for the Siuai, Douglas L. Oliver, *Solomon Island Society,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955, pp. 146 ff. The Manu'ans made love in groups of three or four couples; cf. Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa, op. cit.,* p. 92.

[32] Marvin B. Sussman, "Parental Participation in Mate Selection and Its Effect upon Family Continuity," *Social Forces,* 32 (October, 1953), pp. 76–81.

[33] Wikman, *op. cit.*

[34] Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa, op. cit.,* pp. 97–108; and Firth, *op. cit.,* pp. 520 ff.

[35] Thus Malinowski notes in his "Introduction" to Reo F. Fortune's *The Sorcerers of Dobu,* London: Routledge, 1932, p. xxiii, that the Dobu have similar patterns, the same type of courtship by trial and error, with a gradually tightening union.

[36] Gunnar Landtman, *Kiwai Papuans of the Trans-Fly,* London: Macmillan, 1927, pp. 243 ff.; Oliver, *op. cit.,* pp. 153 ff.

[37] The pattern apparently existed among the Marquesans as well, but since Linton never published a complete description of this Polynesian society, I omit it here. His fullest analysis, cluttered with secondary interpretations, is in Abram Kardiner, *Psychological Frontiers of Society,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. For the Tanala, see Ralph Linton, *The Tanala,* Chicago: Field Museum, 1933, pp. 300–303.

[38] Thus, Radcliffe-Brown: "The African does not think of marriage as a union based on romantic love, although beauty as well as character and health are sought in the choice of a wife," in his "Introduction" to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and W. C. Daryll Ford, editors, *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage,* London: Oxford University Press, 1950, p. 46. For the Nuer, see E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage Among the Nuer,* Oxford: Clarendon, 1951, pp. 49–58. For the Kgatla, see

A more complete classification, making use of the distinctions suggested in this paper, would show, I believe, that a large minority of known societies exhibit this pattern. I would suggest, moreover, that such a study would reveal that the degree to which love is a usual, expected prelude to marriage is correlated with (1) the degree of free choice of mate permitted in the society and (2) the degree to which husband-wife solidarity is the strategic solidarity of the kinship structure.[39]

LOVE CONTROL AND CLASS

These sociostructural explanations of how love is controlled lead to a subsidiary but important hypothesis: From one society to another, and from one *class* to another within the same society, the sociostructural importance of maintaining kinship lines according to rule will be rated differently by the families within them. Consequently, the degree to which control over mate choice, and therefore over the prevalence of a love pattern among adolescents, will also vary. Since, within any stratified society, this concern with the maintenance of intact and acceptable kin lines will be greater in the upper strata, it follows that noble or upper strata will maintain stricter control over love and courtship behavior than lower strata. The two correlations suggested in the preceding paragraph also apply: husband-wife solidarity is less strategic relative to clan solidarity in the upper than in the lower strata, and there is less free choice of mate.

Thus it is that, although in Polynesia generally most youngsters indulged in considerable love play, princesses were supervised strictly.[40] Similarly, in China lower class youngsters often met their spouses before marriage.[41] In our own society, the "upper upper" class maintains much greater control than the lower strata over the informal social contacts of their nubile young. Even among the Dobu, where there are few controls and little stratification, differences in control exist at the extremes: a child betrothal may be arranged between outstanding gardening families, who try to prevent their youngsters from being entangled with wastrel families.[42] In answer to my query about this pattern among the Nuer, Evans-Pritchard writes:

> You are probably right that a wealthy man has more control over his son's affairs than a poor man. A man with several wives has a more authoritarian position in his home. Also, a man with many cattle is in a position to permit or refuse a son to marry, whereas a lad whose father is poor may have to depend on the support of kinsmen. In general, I would say that a Nuer father is not interested in the personal side of things. His son is free to marry any girl he likes and the father does not consider the selection to be his affair until the point is reached when cattle have to be discussed.[43]

The upper strata have much more at stake in the maintenance of the social struc-

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I. Schapera, *Married Life in an African Tribe*, New York: Sheridan, 1941, pp. 55 ff. For the Bavenda, although the report seems incomplete, see Hugh A. Stayt, *The Bavenda*, London: Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. 111 ff., 145 ff., 154.

[39] The second correlation is developed from Marion J. Levy, *The Family Revolution in China*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1949, p. 179. Levy's formulation ties "romantic love" to that solidarity, and is of little use because there is only one case, the Western culture complex. As he states it, it is almost so by definition.

[40] E.g., Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 92, 97–109. Cf. also Firth, *op. cit.*, pp. 520 ff.

[41] Although one must be cautious about China, this inference seems to be allowable from such comments as the following: "But the old men of China did not succeed in eliminating love from the life of the young women. . . . Poor and middle-class families could not afford to keep men and women in separate quarters, and Chinese also met their cousins. . . . Girls . . . sometimes even served customers in their parents' shops." Olga Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 33. According to Fried, farm girls would work in the fields, and farm girls of ten years and older were sent to the market to sell produce. They were also sent to towns and cities as servants. The peasant or pauper woman was not confined to the home and its immediate environs. Morton H. Fried, *Fabric of Chinese Society*, New York: Praeger, 1953, pp. 59–60. Also, Levy (*op. cit.*, p. 111): "Among peasant girls and among servant girls in gentry households some premarital experience was not uncommon, though certainly frowned upon. The methods of preventing such contact were isolation and chaperonage, both of which, in the 'traditional' picture, were more likely to break down in the two cases named than elsewhere."

[42] Fortune, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[43] Personal letter, dated January 9, 1958. However, the Nuer father can still refuse if he believes the demands of the girl's people are unreasonable. In turn, the girl can cajole her parents to demand less.

ture and thus are more strongly motivated to control the courtship and marriage decisions of their young. Correspondingly, their young have much more to lose than lower strata youth, so that upper strata elders *can* wield more power.

CONCLUSION

In this analysis I have attempted to show the integration of love with various types of social structures. As against considerable contemporary opinion among both sociologists and anthropologists, I suggest that love is a universal psychological potential, which is controlled by a range of five structural patterns, all of which are attempts to see to it that youngsters do not make entirely free choices of their future spouses. Only if kin lines are unimportant, and this condition is found in no society as a whole, will entirely free choice be permitted. Some structural arrangements seek to prevent entirely the outbreak of love, while others harness it. Since the kin lines of the upper strata are of greater social importance to them than those of lower strata are to the lower strata members, the former exercise a more effective control over this choice. Even where there is almost a formally free choice of mate—and I have suggested that this pattern is widespread, to be found among a substantial segment of the earth's societies—this choice is guided by peer group and parents toward a mate who will be acceptable to the kin and friend groupings. The theoretical importance of love is thus to be seen in the sociostructural patterns which are developed to keep it from disrupting existing social arrangements.

RACE, ETHNICITY, AND THE ACHIEVEMENT SYNDROME *

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The disparity between the vertical mobility rates of some racial and ethnic groups can, in part, be explained as a function of their dissimilar psychological and cultural orientations towards achievement. Three components of this orientation—achievement motivation, achievement values, and educational-occupational aspirations—which have important consequences for social mobility in this country, are examined. Converging bodies of historical and ethnographic data indicate that differences between groups in motivation, values, and aspirations existed before their arrival in the Northeast, and had their origins in dissimilar socialization practices, traditions, and life-situations. Current attitudinal and personality data reveal that, for the most part, these differences still exist.

THE upward mobility rates of many racial and ethnic groups in America have been markedly dissimilar when compared with one another and with some white Protestant groups. For example, among the "new immigration" groups which settled primarily in the Northeast, the Greeks and Jews have attained middle class status more rapidly than most of their fellow immigrants. In general, ethnic groups with Roman Catholic affiliation have moved up less rapidly than non-Catholic groups. And the vertical mobility of Negroes, even in the less repressive environment of the industrial Northeast, has been relatively slow.[1]

The reasons offered to explain these differ-

* A revised version of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, August, 1957.

The writer wishes to express his appreciation to David C. McClelland for his generous support and advice. The contributions of Marian Winterbottom for her work in scoring the TAT protocols, Shirley Rosen for her help in evaluating ethnographic material and in statistical computational work, and James Sakoda for his assistance on statistical procedures are gratefully acknowledged. Roy D'Andrade and June Schmelzer also helped with statistical work.

[1] Cf. W. L. Warner and L. Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945; F. L. Strodtbeck, "Jewish and Italian Immigration and Subsequent Status Mobility," in D. McClelland, A. Baldwin, U. Bronfenbrenner and F. Strodtbeck, *Talent and Society*, Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1958; M. Davie, *World Migration*, New York: Macmillan, 1936,

ences vary with the group in question. Thus, differences in group mobility rates have sometimes been interpreted as a function of the immigrant's possession of certain skills which were valuable in a burgeoning industrial society. In this connection, there is some evidence that many Jews came to America with occupational skills better suited to urban living than did their fellow immigrants. Social mobility seems also to be related to the ability of ethnic and racial groups to organize effectively to protect and promote their interests. Both the Greeks and the Jews were quicker to develop effective community organizations than were other immigrants who had not previously faced the problem of adapting as minority groups. For the Jews, this situation grew out of their experiences with an often hostile gentile world; for the Greeks, out of their persecutions by the Turks. The repressiveness of the social structure or the willingness of the dominant groups to permit others to share in the fruits of a rich, expanding economy has also been given as an explanation of differential group mobility. This argument has merit in the case of Negroes, but it is less valid in a comparison of the Jews with Southern Italians or French-Canadians. Finally, it has been suggested that groups with experiences in small town or urban environments were more likely to possess the cultural values appropriate to achievement in American society than were ethnic and racial groups whose cultures had been formed in rural, peasant surroundings. Here, again, it has been noted that many Jews and a small but influential number of Levantine Greeks had come from small towns or cities, while most of the Roman Catholic immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe (and Southern Negroes before their migration to the North) came from rural communities.[2]

As valid as these explanations may be —and we believe they have merit—they overlook one important factor: *the individual's psychological and cultural orientation towards achievement;* by which we mean his psychological need to excel, his desire to enter the competitive race for social status, and his initial possession of or willingness to adopt the high valuation placed upon personal achievement and success which foreign observers from Tocqueville to Laski have considered an important factor in the remarkable mobility of individuals in American society.

Three components of this achievement orientation are particularly relevant for any study of social mobility. The first is a psychological factor, *achievement motivation,* which provides the internal impetus to excel in situations involving standards of excellence. The second and third components are cultural factors, one consisting of certain *value orientations* which implement achievement-motivated behavior, the other of culturally influenced *educational-vocational aspiration levels.* All three factors may affect status achievement; one moving the individual to excel, the others organizing and directing his behavior towards high status goals. This motive-value-aspiration complex has been called the *Achievement Syndrome.*[3]

It is the basic hypothesis of this study that many racial and ethnic groups were not, and are not now, alike in their orientation toward achievement, particularly as it is expressed in the striving for status through social mobility, and that this difference in orientation has been an important factor contributing to the dissimilarities in their social mobility rates. Specifically, this paper examines the achievement motivation, values, and aspirations of members of six racial and ethnic groups. Four of these are "new immigration" ethnic groups with similar periods of residence in this country who faced approximately the same economic circumstances upon arrival: the French-Canadians,

[2] Cf. N. Glazer, "The American Jew and the Attainment of Middle-Class Rank: Some Trends and Explanations," in M. Sklare, editor, *The Jews: Social Patterns of an American Group,* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958; W. L. Warner and L. Srole, *op. cit.;* T. Burgess, *Greeks in America,* Boston: Sherman, French, 1913; T. Saloutos, "The Greeks in the U. S.," *The South Atlantic Quarterly,* 4 (January, 1945), pp. 69–82; T. Kalijarvi, "French-Canadians in the United States," *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science* (September, 1942); F. L. Strodtbeck, "Family Interactions, Values and Achievement," in D. McClelland, *et al., op. cit.;* G. Myrdal, *An American Dilemma,* New York: Harper, 1944.

[3] B. C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification," *The American Sociological Review,* 21 (April, 1956), pp. 203–211.

Southern Italians, Greeks, and East European Jews. The fifth is the Negro group in the Northeast, the section's largest "racial" division. The last, and in some ways the most heterogeneous, is the native-born white Protestant group. Contributing to the fact that these six groups have not been equally mobile, we suggest, are differences in the three components of the achievement syndrome: their incidence is highest among Jews, Greeks, and white Protestants, lower among Southern Italians and French-Canadians, and lowest among Negroes.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The data were collected from a purposive sample of 954 subjects residing in 62 communities in four Northeastern states: 51 in Connecticut, seven in New York, three in New Jersey, and one in Massachusetts. The subjects are 427 pairs of mothers and their sons; 62 pairs are French-Canadians, 74 are Italians, 47 are Greeks, 57 are Jews, 65 are Negroes, and 122 are white Protestants. Most subjects were located through the aid of local religious, ethnic, or service organizations, or through their residence in neighborhoods believed to be occupied by certain groups. The subject's group membership was determined ultimately by asking the mothers in personal interviews to designate their religion and land of national origin. The interviewers, all of whom were upper-classmen enrolled in two sociology classes, were instructed to draw respondents from various social strata.[4] The respondent's social class position was determined by a modified version of Hollingshead's Index of Social Position, which uses occupation and education of the main wage-earner, usually the father, as the principal criteria of status. Respondents were classified according to this index into one of five social classes, from the highest status group (Class I) to the lowest (Class V).[5] Most of the mothers and all of the sons are native-born, the sons ranging in age from eight to 14 years (the mean age is about 11 years). There are no significant age differences between the various groups.

Two research instruments were a projective test to measure achievement motivation and a personal interview to obtain information on achievement value orientations and related phenomena. Achievement motivation has been defined by McClelland and his associates as a redintegration of affect aroused by cues in situations involving standards of excellence. Such standards usually are imparted to the individual by his parents, who impart the understanding that they expect him to perform well in relation to these standards of excellence, rewarding him for successful endeavor and punishing him for failure. In time he comes to have similar expectations of himself when exposed to situations involving standards of excellence and re-experiences the affect associated with his earlier efforts to meet these standards. The behavior of people with high achievement motivation is characterized by persistent striving and general competitiveness.

Using a Thematic Apperception Test, McClelland and his associates have developed a method of measuring the achievement motive that involves identifying and counting the frequency with which imagery about evaluated performance in competition with a standard of excellence appears in the thoughts of a person when he tells a brief story under time pressure. This imagery now can be identified objectively and reliably. The test assumes that the more the individual shows indications of connections between evaluated performance and affect in his fantasy, the greater the degree to which achievement motivation is part of his personality.[6] This projective test, which involves showing the subject four ambiguous pictures and asking him to tell a story about each, was given privately and individually to the sons in their homes. Their imaginative responses to the pictures were scored by two judges; the Pearson product moment corre-

[4] The interviewers were trained by the writer; efforts were made to control for interviewer biases. It should be remembered that the sample is not random at any point in the selection process. Hence, the reader is cautioned to regard the data presented here as tentative and suggestive.

[5] A. B. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich, "Social Stratification and Psychiatric Disorders," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (April, 1953), pp. 163–169.

[6] D. C. McClelland, J. Atkinson, R. Clark, and E. Lowell, *The Achievement Motive*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953.

lation between the two scorings was .86, an estimate of reliability similar to those reported in earlier studies using this measure.

Following the boys' testing, their mothers were interviewed privately. The interview guide included several standardized questions designed to indicate the mother's achievement value orientations, her educational and vocational aspirations for her son, and the degree to which she had trained him to be independent.

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

Achievement Motivation. Empirical studies have shown that achievement motivation is generated by (at least) two kinds of socialization practices: (1) *achievement training,* in which the parents, by imposing standards of excellence upon tasks, by setting high goals for their child, and by indicating their high evaluation of his competence to do a task well, communicate to him that they expect evidences of high achievement; (2) *independence training,* in which the parents indicate to the child that they expect him to be self-reliant and, at the same time, grant him relative autonomy in decision-making situations where he is given both freedom of action and responsibility for success or failure. Essentially, achievement training is concerned with getting the child to *do things well,* while independence training seeks to teach him to do things *on his own.* Although both kinds often occur together and each contributes to the development of achievement motivation, achievement training is the more important of the two.[7]

Two bodies of information—ethnographic studies of the "old world" or non-American culture and recent empirical investigations of the training practices used by Americans of various ethnic backgrounds—strongly indicate that the six groups examined here, in the past and to some extent today, differ with respect to the degree to which their members typically emphasize achievement and independence training. Ethnic differences in these matters were first studied by McClelland, who noted that the linkage between independence training and achievement motivation established by recent empirical studies suggests an interesting parallel with Weber's classic description of the characterological consequences of the Protestant Reformation. Weber reasoned, first, concerning salvation, that an important aspect of the Protestant theological position was the shift from reliance on an institution (the Church) to a greater reliance upon self; it seemed reasonable to assume that Protestant parents who prepared their children for increased self-reliance in religious matters would also tend to stress the necessity for the child to be self-reliant in other aspects of his life. Secondly, Weber's description of the personality types produced by the Reformation is strikingly similar to the picture of the person with high achievement motivation; for example, the hard-working, thrifty Protestant working girl, the Protestant entrepreneur who "gets nothing out of his wealth for himself except the irrational sense of having done his job well." [8]

The hypothesis deduced from these observations was put to the test by McClelland, who questioned white Protestant, Irish-Catholic, Italian-Catholic, and Jewish mothers about their independence training practices. He found that Protestants and Jews favored earlier independence training than Irish and Italian Catholics.[9] These findings are supported and enlarged upon by data derived from questioning the 427 mothers in this study about their training practices. The mothers were asked, "At what age do you expect your son to do the following things?" and to note the appropriate items from the following list (taken from

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[7] M. Winterbottom, "The Relation of Need for Achievement to Learning Experiences in Independence and Mastery," in J. Atkinson, editor, *Motives in Fantasy, Action and Society,* Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1958; B. C. Rosen, "The Psychosocial Origins of Achievement Motivation," mimeographed progress report to the National Institute of Mental Health, 1957.

[8] D. C. McClelland, "Some Social Consequences of Achievement Motivation," in M. R. Jones, editor, *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, 1955,* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1955.

[9] D. C. McClelland, A. Rindlisbacher, and R. C. deCharms, "Religious and Other Sources of Parental Attitudes Towards Independence Training," in D. C. McClelland, editor, *Studies in Motivation,* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955.

the Winterbottom index of training in independence and mastery): [10]

1. To be willing to try things on his own without depending on his mother for help.
2. To be active and energetic in climbing, jumping, and sports.
3. To try hard things for himself without asking for help.
4. To be able to lead other children and assert himself in children's groups.
5. To make his own friends among children of his own age.
6. To do well in school on his own.
7. To have interests and hobbies of his own. To be able to entertain himself.
8. To do well in competition with other children. To try hard to come out on top in games and sports.
9. To make decisions like choosing his own clothes or deciding to spend his money by himself.

An index of independence training was derived by summing the ages for each item and taking the mean figure. The data in Table 1 show that the Jews expect earliest evidence of self-reliance from their children (mean age 6.83 years), followed by the Protestants (6.87), Negroes (7.23), Greeks (7.67), French-Canadians (7.99), and Italians (8.03). Both primary sources of variation—ethnicity and social class—are significant at the .01 level.

Data on the relative emphasis which racial and ethnic groups place upon achievement *training* (that is, imposing standards of excellence upon tasks, setting high goals for the child to achieve, and communicating to him a feeling that his parents evaluate highly his task-competence) are much more difficult to obtain. Achievement training as such, in fact, is rarely treated in studies of ethnic socialization practices. Hence, inferences about achievement training were drawn primarily from ethnographic and historical materials, which are usually more informative about achievement as such than about relevant socialization practices.

TABLE 1. MEAN AGE OF INDEPENDENCE TRAINING BY ETHNICITY AND SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Class *				
Ethnicity	I-II-III	IV	V	$\bar{x}$	N
French-Canadian	8.00	7.69	8.08	7.99	62
Italian	6.79	7.89	8.47	8.03	74
Greek	6.33	8.14	7.52	7.67	47
Jew	6.37	7.29	6.90	6.83	57
Negro	6.64	6.98	7.39	7.23	65
Protestant	5.82	7.44	7.03	6.87	122
$\bar{x}$	6.31	7.64	7.59		

Ethnicity: $F = 8.55$ $P < .01$
Social Class: $F = 21.48$ $P < .001$
Ethnicity × Class: $F = 6.25$ $P < .01$

* The three-class breakdown was used in an earlier phase of the analysis. An examination of the means of cells using a four-class breakdown revealed no change in pattern and did not warrant new computations.

The groups about which the most is known concerning achievement training, perhaps, are the Protestants, the Jews, and, to a lesser extent, the Greeks. These groups traditionally have stressed excellence and achievement. In the case of the Protestants, this tradition can be located in the Puritan Ethic with its concept of work as a "calling" and the exhortation that a job be done well. Of course, not all Protestants would be equally comfortable with this tradition; it is much more applicable, for example, to Presbyterians and Quakers than to Methodists and Baptists. Nonetheless, the generally longer residence of Protestants in this country makes it probable that they would tend to share the American belief that children should be encouraged to develop their talents and to set high goals, possibly a bit beyond their reach. The observation that Jews stress achievement training is commonplace. Zyborowski and Herzog note the strong tendency among *shtetyl* Jews to expect and to reward evidences of achievement even among very young children. The image of the Jewish mother as eager for her son to excel in competition and to set ever higher goals for himself is a familiar one in the literature of

[10] Winterbottom, *op. cit.* Though primarily a measure of independence training, two items in this index—items 6 and 8—are considered measures of mastery training, a concept akin to our notion of achievement training. The failure to disentangle independence training from mastery (achievement) training has been responsible for some confusion in earlier studies of the origins of achievement motivation. (For an analysis of this confusion, see Rosen, "The Psychosocial Origins of Achievement Motivation," *op. cit.*) The two components were kept in the index in order to maintain comparability between this study and the earlier work on ethnic groups by McClelland reported above.

TABLE 2. MEAN ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION SCORES BY ETHNICITY AND SOCIAL CLASS

Ethnicity	Social Class I-II	III	IV	V	$\bar{x}$	N
French-Canadian	10.00	10.64	8.78	7.75	8.82	62
Italian	8.86	12.81	7.54	10.20	9.65	74
Greek	9.17	12.13	10.40	8.75	10.80	47
Jew	10.05	10.41	10.94	11.20	10.53	57
Negro	11.36	9.00	8.23	6.72	8.40	65
Protestant	11.71	10.94	9.39	7.31	10.11	122
$\bar{x}$	10.55	11.26	9.01	8.32		

Ethnicity: $F = 1.23$ $P > .05$
Social Class: $F = 5.30$ $P < .005$
Ethnicity × Class: $F = 1.32$ $P > .05$

Jewish family life.[11] Careful attention to standards of excellence in the Greek home is stressed by the parents: children know that a task which is shabbily performed will have to be re-done. In this country, the Greek is exhorted to be "a credit to his group." Failure to meet group norms is quickly perceived and where possible punished; while achievement receives the approbation of the entire Greek community.

Among the Southern Italians (the overwhelming majority of American-Italians are of Southern Italian extraction), French-Canadians, and Negroes the tradition seems to be quite different. More often than not they came from agrarian societies or regions in which opportunities for achievement were strictly curtailed by the social structure and where habits of resignation and fatalism in the face of social and environmental frustrations were psychologically functional. Under such conditions children were not typically exhorted to be achievers or urged to set their sights very high. Of course, children were expected to perform tasks, as they are in most societies, but such tasks were usually farm or self-caretaking chores, from which the notion of competition with standards of excellence is not excluded, but is not ordinarily stressed. As for communicating to the child a sense of confidence in his competence to do a task well, there is some evidence that in the father-dominant Italian and French-Canadian families, pronounced concern with the child's ability might be perceived as a threat to the father.[12]

On the whole, the data indicate that Protestants, Jews, and Greeks place a greater emphasis on independence and achievement training than Southern Italians and French-Canadians. The data on the Negroes are conflicting: they often train children relatively early in self-reliance, but there is little evidence of much stress upon achievement training. No doubt the socialization practices of these groups have been modified somewhat by the acculturating influences of American society since their arrival in the Northeast.[13] But ethnic cultures tend to survive even in the face of strong obliterating forces, and we believe that earlier differences between groups persist—a position supported by the present data on self-reliance training. Hence, the hypothesis that the racial and ethnic groups considered here differ with respect to achievement motivation. We predicted that, on the average, achievement motivation scores would be highest among the Jews, Greeks, and white Protestants, lower among the Italians and French-

[11] M. Zyborowski and E. Herzog, *Life Is With People*, New York: International University Press, 1952.

[12] P. H. Williams, *South Italian Folkways in Europe and America*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938; H. Miner, *St. Dennis: A French-Canadian Parish*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

[13] It does not necessarily follow that the impact of American culture has reduced the differences between groups. An argument can be made that for some groups life in America has accentuated differences by allowing certain characteristics of the groups to develop. We have in mind particularly the Greeks and Jews whose need to excel could find little avenue for expression through status striving in Europe.

Canadians, and lowest among the Negroes. Table 2 shows that the data support these predictions, indicated by the following mean scores: Greeks 10.80, Jews 10.53, Protestants 10.11, Italians 9.65, French-Canadians 8.82, and Negroes 8.40.

A series of "t" tests of significance between means (a one-tail test was used in cases where the direction of the difference had been predicted) was computed. The differences between Greeks, Jews, and Protestants are not statistically significant. The Italian score is significantly lower ($P < .05$) than the score for the Greeks, but not for the Jews and Protestants. The largest differences are between the French-Canadians and Negroes on the one hand and the remaining groups on the other: the French-Canadian mean score is significantly lower ($P < .01$) than those of all other groups except Italians and Negroes; the mean score for all Negroes is significantly lower ($P < .01$) than the scores for all other groups except French-Canadians. A "Roman Catholic" score was obtained by combining Italian and French-Canadian scores, and scores for all non-Negro groups were combined to form a "White" score. The differences between group means were tested for significance (by a one-tail "t" test) and it was found that the "Catholic" score is significantly lower than the scores for Protestants, Greek Orthodox, and Jews ($P < .01$). The Negro mean score is significantly lower than the combined score of all white groups ($P < .002$).

A comparison of ethnic-racial differences does not tell the whole story. There are also significant differences between the social classes. In fact, analysis of Table 2 indicates that social class accounts for more of the variance than ethnicity: the F ratio for ethnicity is 1.23 ($P > .05$), for class 5.30 ($P < .005$). The small number of cases in Classes I and II greatly increases the within-group variance; when these two classes are combined with Class III the variance is decreased and the F ratio for ethnicity increases sharply to 2.13 ($P < .06$). Social class, however, remains more significantly related to achievement motivation than ethnicity. This finding is especially important in this study since the proportion of subjects in each class varies for the ethnic groups. There are relatively more middle class than lower class subjects among the Jews, Greeks, and Protestants than among Italians, French-Canadians, and Negroes. To control for social class it was necessary to examine the differences between cells as well as between columns and rows. A series of "t" tests of differences between the means of cells revealed that for the most part the earlier pattern established for total ethnic means persists, although in some instances the differences between groups are decreased, in others increased, and in a few cases the direction of the differences is reversed. Neither ethnicity nor social class alone is sufficient to predict an individual's score; both appear to contribute something to the variance between groups, but on the whole social class is a better predictor than ethnicity. Generally, a high status person from an ethnic group with a low mean achievement motivation score is more likely to have a high score than a low status person from a group with a high mean score. Thus, the mean score for Class I-II Negroes is higher than the score for Class IV-V white Protestants: the score for the former is 11.36, for the latter, 7.31; a "t" test revealed that the difference between these two means is significant at the .05 level, using a two-tail test. This relatively high score for Class I-II Negroes, the third highest for any cell in the table, indicates, perhaps, the strong motivation necessary for a Negro to achieve middle class status in a hostile environment. Generally, the scores for each group decrease as the class level declines, except for the Jews whose scores are inversely related to social status—a finding for which we can offer no explanation.

Achievement Value Orientations. Achievement motivation is one part of the achievement syndrome; an equally important component is the achievement value orientation. Value orientations are defined as meaningful and affectively charged modes of organizing behavior—principles that guide human conduct. They establish criteria which influence the individual's preferences and goals. Achievement values and achievement motivation, while related, represent genuinely different components of the achievement syndrome, not only conceptually but also in their origins and, as we have shown else-

where, in their social correlates.[14] Value orientations, because of their conceptual content, are probably acquired in that stage of the child's cultural training when verbal communication of a fairly complex nature is possible. Achievement motivation or the need to excel, on the other hand, has its origins in parent-child interaction beginning early in the child's life when many of these relations are likely to be emotional and unverbalized. Analytically, then, the learning of achievement oriented values can be independent of the acquisition of the achievement motive, although empirically they often occur together.

Achievement values affect social mobility in that they focus the individual's attention on status improvement and help to shape his behavior so that achievement motivation can be translated into successful action. The achievement motive by itself is not a sufficient condition of social mobility: it provides internal impetus to excel, but it does not impel the individual to take the steps necessary for status achievement. Such steps in our society involve, among other things, a preparedness to plan, work hard, make sacrifices, and be physically mobile. Whether or not the individual will understand their importance and accept them will depend in part upon his values.

Three sets of values (a modification of Kluckhohn's scheme[15]) were identified as elements of the achievement syndrome,[16] as follows:

1. *Activistic-Passivistic Orientation* concerns the extent to which the culture of a group encourages the individual to believe in the possibility of his manipulating the physical and social environment to his advantage. An activistic culture encourages the individual to believe that it is both possible and necessary for him to improve his status, whereas a passivistic culture promotes the acceptance of the notion that individual efforts to achieve mobility are relatively futile.

2. *Individualistic-Collectivistic Orientation* refers to the extent to which the individual is expected to subordinate his needs to the group. This study is specifically concerned with the degree to which the society expects the individual to maintain close physical proximity to his family of orientation, even at the risk of limiting vacational opportunities; and the degree to which the society emphasixes group incentives rather than personal rewards. The collectivistic society places a greater stress than the individualistic on group ties and group incentives.

3. *Present-Future Orientation* concerns the society's attitude toward time and its impact upon behavior. A present oriented society stresses the merit of living in the present, emphasizing immediate gratifications; a future oriented society encourages the belief that planning and present sacrifices are worthwhile, or morally obligatory, in order to insure future gains.

Examination of enthnographic and historical materials on the cultures of the six ethnic groups revealed important differences in value orientation—differences antedating their arrival in the Northeast. The cultures of white Protestants, Jews, and Greeks stand out as considerably more individualistic, activistic, and future-oriented than those of the Southern Italians, French-Canadians, and Negroes. Several forces—religious, economic, and national—seem to have long influenced the Protestants in this direction, including, first, the Puritan Ethic with its stress upon individualism and work; then the impact of the liberal economic ethic (Weber's "Spirit of Capitalism") emphasizing competitive activity and achievement; and finally, the challenge of the frontier, with its consequent growth of a national feeling of optimism and manifest destiny. All of these factors tended very early to create a highly activistic, individualistic, future-oriented culture—the picture of American culture held by foreign observers since Tocqueville.[17]

The Jews, who for centuries had lived in more or less hostile environments, have learned that it is not only possible to manipulate their environment to insure survival but

[14] Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome," *op. cit.*, pp. 208–210.

[15] F. Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Substitute Profiles of Cultural Orientations," *Social Forces*, 28 (May, 1950), pp. 376–393.

[16] For the most part, the value orientations examined in this study, their description, and the items used to index them, are identical with those which appear in Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome," *op. cit.*

[17] For a history of the development of the liberal economic ethic and its manifestation on the American scene, see J. H. Randall, *The Making of the Modern Mind*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926; J. K. Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958.

even to prosper in it. Jewish tradition stresses the possibility of the individual rationally mastering his world. Man is not helpless against the forces of nature or of his fellow man; God will provide, but only if man does his share. Like Protestantism, Judaism is an intensely individualistic religion and the Jews an intensely individualistic people. While the family was close knit, it was the entire *shtetyl* which was regarded as the inclusive social unit; and in neither case was loyalty to the group considered threatened by physical mobility. The Jews typically have urged their children to leave home if in so doing they faced better opportunities. *Shtetyl* society, from which the vast majority of American Jewry is descended, vigorously stressed the importance of planning and working for the future. A *shtetyl* cultural tradition was that parents save for many years, often at great sacrifice to themselves, in order to improve their son's vocational opportunities or to provide a daughter with a dowry.[18]

In some respects, Greek and Jewish cultures were strikingly similar at the turn of the century. The ethos of the town and city permeated the Greek more than most other Mediterranean cultures, although only a small proportion of the population was engaged in trade—with the important exception of the Levantine Greeks, who were largely merchants. The image of the Greek in the Eastern Mediterranean area was that of an individualistic, foresighted, competitive trader. Early observers of the Greek in America were impressed by his activistic, future-oriented behavior. E. A. Ross, a rather unfriendly observer, wrote as early as 1914 that "the saving, commercial Greek climbs. From curb to stand, from stand to store, from little store to big store, and from there to branch stores in other cities—such are the stages in his upward path."[19]

Though separated by thousands of miles, French-Canadian and Southern Italian cultures were similar in many respects. Both were primarily peasant cultures, strongly influenced by the Roman Catholic Church. Neither could be described as activistic, individualistic, or future-oriented. In Southern Italian society the closed-class system and grinding poverty fostered a tradition of resignation—a belief that the individual had little control over his life situation and a stress upon the role of fate (*Destino*) in determining success. The living conditions of French-Canadians, although less harsh, were sufficiently severe to sharply limit the individual's sense of mastery over his situation. In neither group was there a strong feeling that the individual could drastically improve his lot; for both groups the future was essentially unpredictable, even capricious. Extended family ties were very strong in both groups: there is the Southern Italian saying, "the family against all others;" the French-Canadian farmer in need of help will travel many miles to hire a kinsman rather than an otherwise convenient neighbor.[20]

Ironically, although Negroes are usually Protestant (however, not ordinarily of the Calvinistic type) and have been exposed to the liberal economic ethic longer than most of the other groups considered here, their culture, it seems, is least likely to accent achievement values. The Negro's history as a slave and depressed farm worker, and the sharp discrepancy between his experiences and the American Creed, would appear to work against the internalization of the achievement values of the dominant white group. Typically, the Negro life-situation does not encourage the belief that one can manipulate his environment or the conviction that one can improve his condition very much by planning and hard work.[21] Gener-

[18] Zyborowski and Herzog, *op. cit.;* B. C. Rosen, "Cultural Factors in Achievement," mimeographed, 1952; Strodtbeck, "Family Interactions, Values and Achievement," *op. cit.*

[19] Quoted in Saloutos, *op. cit.*, p. 71. The writer is indebted to J. Gregoropoulos, a native of Athens, for many helpful comments on European and American Greek communities.

[20] Miner, *op. cit.* See also Williams, *op. cit.;* Strodtbeck, "Family Interactions, Values and Achievement," *op. cit.*

[21] We recognize that to infer a group's values from its life-situation and then to use these values to explain an aspect of that situation is to reason circularly. However, the temporal sequence between values and mobility has a chicken-egg quality which is difficult to avoid because values and life-situation interact. To some extent, knowledge of ethnic cultures prior to their arrival in the United States helps to establish the priority of values to mobility. In the case of the Negroes, however, relatively little is known about their several cultures before their transportation to this country.

TABLE 3. MEAN VALUE SCORES BY ETHNICITY AND SOCIAL CLASS

Ethnicity	Social Class I-II	III	IV	V	$\bar{x}$	N
French-Canadian	4.00	4.21	4.60	2.46	3.68	62
Italian	5.86	4.00	3.96	3.40	4.17	74
Greek	6.33	5.52	4.80	3.25	5.08	47
Jew	5.94	5.47	5.41	4.80	5.54	57
Negro	6.00	5.00	4.90	4.67	5.03	65
Protestant	5.86	5.50	4.97	3.54	5.16	122
$\bar{x}$	5.91	5.08	4.78	3.49		

Ethnicity: $F = 11.62$ $P < .001$
Social Class: $F = 33.80$ $P < .001$
Ethnicity × Class: $F = 2.43$ $P < .01$

ally, family ties have not been strong among Negroes, although traditionally the mother was an especially important figure and ties between her and her children, particularly sons, may still be very strong.[22]

Another and more direct way of studying ethnic values is to talk with group members themselves; thus our personal interviews with the mothers. (Their sons in many cases were too young to give meaningful answers.) They were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statements, listed here under the appropriate value orientation categories.

(1) *Activistic-Passivistic Orientation.*

Item 1. "All a man should want out of life in the way of a career is a secure, not too difficult job, with enough pay to afford a nice car and eventually a home of his own."

Item 2. "When a man is born the success he is going to have is already in the cards, so he might just as well accept it and not fight against it."

Item 3. "The secret of happiness is not expecting too much out of life and being content with what comes your way."

(2) *Individualistic-Collectivistic Orientation.*

Item 4. "Nothing is worth the sacrifice of moving away from one's parents."

Item 5. "The best kind of job to have is one where you are part of an organization all working together even if you don't get individual credit." [23]

(3) *Present-Future Orientation.*

Item 6. "Planning only makes a person unhappy since your plans hardly ever work out anyway."

Item 7. "Nowadays with world conditions the way they are the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself."

Responses indicating an activistic, future-oriented, individualistic point of view (the answer "disagree" to these items) reflect values, we believe, most likely to facilitate achievement and social mobility. These items were used to form a value index, and a score was derived for each subject by giving a point for each achievement-oriented response. In examining the mothers' scores two assumptions were made: (1) that they tend to transmit their values to their sons, and (2) that the present differences between groups are indicative of at least equal, and perhaps even greater, differences in the past.

The ethnographic and historical materials led us to expect higher value scores for Jews, white Protestants, and Greeks than for Italians, French-Canadians, and Negroes. In large measure, these expectations were confirmed. Table 3 shows that Jews have the highest mean score (5.54), followed closely by Protestants (5.16), Greeks (5.08), and Negroes (surprisingly) (5.03). The Italians' score (4.17) is almost a point lower, and the French-Canadian score (3.68) is the lowest for any group. The scores for Jews, Protestants, and Greeks do not significantly differ when the two-tail test is used (we were not able to predict the direction of the differences), but they are all significantly higher

[22] E. F. Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939; see also Frazier's *The Negro in the United States,* New York: Macmillan, 1957, especially Chapters 13 and 24.

[23] Of course, if Whyte is correct about the growth of the organization man and the importance of the "social ethic," agreement with this statement may indicate an asset rather than a handicap to social mobility. See W. H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man,* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957.

than the scores for Italians and French-Canadians. When Italian and French-Canadian scores are combined to form a "Roman Catholic" score, the latter is significantly lower ($P < .001$) than the scores for Jews, Protestants, or Greeks.

The prediction for the Negroes proved to be entirely wrong. Their mean score (5.03) is significantly higher ($P < .001$) than the scores for Italians and French-Canadians. Nor is the Negro score significantly different from those for Protestants and Greeks, although it is significantly lower than the Jewish score ($P < .05$) when the one-tail test is used. The skeptic may regard the relatively high Negro value score as merely lip-service to the liberal economic ethic, but it may in fact reflect, and to some extent be responsible for, the economic gains of Negroes in recent years.[24]

Social class also is significantly related to achievement values and accounts for more of the variance than ethnicity: the F ratio for class is 33.80 ($P < .001$) for ethnicity 11.62 ($P < .001$). Almost without exception, the mean score for each ethnic group is reduced with each decline in status. *Social class, however, does not wash out the differences between ethnic groups.* A series of "t" tests between cells across each social class reveals that Greek, Jewish, and Protestant scores remain significantly higher than Italian and French-Canadian scores. Negro scores also remain among the highest across each social class. Ethnicity and social class interact and each contributes something to the differences between groups: the individual with high social status who also belongs to an ethnic group which stresses achievement values is far more likely to have a high value score than an individual with low status and membership in a group in which achievement is not emphasized. For example, the Class I-II Greek score is 6.33 as compared with the Class V French-Canadian score of 2.46—the difference between them is significant at the .001 level. On the other hand, the score for Class I-II Italians, an ethnic group in which achievement values are not stressed, is 5.86 as compared with 3.25 for Class V Greeks—the difference between them is significant at the .001 level. Neither variable, then, is sufficient to predict an individual's score; and for some groups social class seems to be the more significant factor, for others ethnicity appears to play the greater role. Thus, for Jews and Negroes the mean scores remain relatively high for each social class; in fact, Class V Jews and Negroes have larger mean scores than many French-Canadians and Italians of higher social status.

Aspiration Levels. Achievement motivation and values influence social mobility by affecting the individual's need to excel and his willingness to plan and work hard. But they do not determine the areas in which such excellence and effort take place. Achievement motivation and values can be expressed, as they often are, through many kinds of behavior that are not conducive to social mobility in our society, for example, deviant, recreational, or religious behavior. Unless the individual aims for high vocational goals and prepares himself appropriately, his achievement motivation and values will not pull him up the social ladder. Increasingly, lengthy formal education, often including college and post-graduate study, is needed for movement into prestigeful and lucrative jobs. An educational aspiration level which precludes college training may seriously affect the individual's chances for social mobility.

Their cultures, even before the arrival of the ethnic groups in the Northeast, were markedly different in orientation towards education.[25] The Protestants' stress upon formal education, if only as a means of furthering one's career, is well known. Traditionally, Jews have placed a very high value on educational and intellectual attainment; learning in the *shtetyl* society gave the individual prestige, authority, a chance for a better marriage. Contrariwise, for Southern Italians, school was an upper class institu-

[24] The relatively high value score for Negroes supports our contention that achievement motivation and achievement values are genuinely different components of the achievement syndrome. It will be remembered that the Negroes had the lowest mean motivation score. If achievement motivation and values are conceptually and empirically identical, there should be no difference between the two sets of scores.

[25] For a comparison of ethnic group education and vocational aspirations, see R. M. Williams, Jr., *American Society*, New York: Knopf, 1951, Chapter 8; F. J. Woods, *Cultural Values of American Ethnic Groups*, New York: Harper, 1956, Chapters 5 and 7.

tion, not an avenue for social advancement for their children, booklearning was remote from everyday experience, and intellectualism often regarded with distrust. French-Canadians, although not hostile to education and learning, were disinclined to educate their sons beyond the elementary level. Daughters needed more education as preparation for jobs in the event they did not marry, but sons were destined to be farmers or factory workers, in the parents' view, with the exception at times of one son who would be encouraged to become a priest. Greeks—generally no better educated than Italians or French-Canadians—on the whole were much more favorably disposed towards learning, in large part because of their intense nationalistic identification with the cultural glories of ancient Greece.[26] This identification was strengthened by the relatively hostile reception Greeks met on their arrival in this country, and is in part responsible for the rapid development of private schools supported by the Greek community and devoted to the teaching of Greek culture —an interesting parallel to the Hebrew School among American Jews. Finally, Negroes, who might be expected to share the prevalent American emphasis upon education, face the painfully apparent fact that positions open to educated Negroes are scarce. This fact means that most Negroes, in all likelihood, do not consider high educational aspirations realistic. And the heavy drop-out in high school suggests that the curtailment of educational aspirations begins very early.

To test whether and to what degree these differences between groups persist, the mothers were asked: "How far do you *intend* for your son to go to school?" It was hoped that the term *intend* would structure the question so that the reply would indicate, not merely a mother's pious wish, but also an expression of will to do something about her son's schooling. The data show that 96 per cent of the Jewish, 88 per cent of the Protestant, 85 per cent of the Greek, 83 per cent of the Negro (much higher than was anticipated), 64 per cent of the Italian, and 56 per cent of the French-Canadian mothers said that they expected their sons to go to college. The aspirations of Jews, Protestants, Greeks, and Negroes are not significantly different from one another, but they are significantly higher than the aspirations of Italians and French-Canadians ($P < .05$).

Social class, once more, is significantly related to educational aspiration. When class is controlled the differences between ethnic groups are diminished—particularly at the Class I-II-III levels—but they are not erased: Jews, Protestants, Greeks, and Negroes tend to have aspirations similar to one another and higher than those of Italians and French-Canadians for each social class. The differences are greatest at the lower class levels: at Class V, 85 per cent of the Protestants, 80 per cent of the Jews, and 78 per cent of the Negroes intend for their sons to go to college as compared with 63 per cent of the Greeks, 50 per cent of the Italians, and 29 per cent of the French-Canadians.

The individual, to be socially mobile, must aspire to the occupations which society esteems and rewards highly. An individual, strongly motivated to excel and willing to plan and work hard, who sets his heart on being the best barber will probably be less vertically mobile than an equally endowed person who aspires to become the best surgeon. Moreover, the individual who aspires to a high status occupation is likely to expend more energy in competitive striving—and in so doing improve his chances for social mobility—than someone whose occupational choice demands relatively little from him.

Since many of the boys in this study were too young to appraise occupations realistically, we sought to obtain a measure of ethnic group vocational aspiration by questioning the mothers about their aspirations for their sons, once again assuming that they would tend to communicate their views of status levels and their expectations for their sons. Ten occupations were chosen which can be ranked by social status; seven of our ten occupations (marked below by asterisks) were selected from the N.O.R.C. ranking.[27]

[26] Attempts by Mussolini to create a similar bond between his people and ancient Rome, or even the more recent Renaissance, were unsuccessful. French-Canadians for the most part have long refused to be impressed by the "secular" achievement of European anti-clerical French society.

[27] National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and

The occupations, originally presented in alphabetical order, are given here in the order of status: Lawyer*, Druggist, Jewelry Store Owner, Machinist*, Bank Teller, Insurance Agent*, Bookkeeper*, Mail Carrier*, Department Store Salesman*, and Bus Driver*. The mothers were asked: "If things worked out so that your son were in the following occupations, would you be satisfied or dissatisfied?" To obtain aspiration scores for each mother, her responses were treated in three ways:

1. The number of times the mother answered "satisfied" to the ten occupations was summed to give a single score. In effect this meant giving each occupation a weight of one. Since the subject must inevitably select lower status occupations as she increases her number of choices, the higher the summed score, the lower the aspiration level. The basic limitation of this method is that it is impossible to know from the summed score whether the occupations chosen are of low or high status.

2. To correct for this, a second index was derived by assigning weights to the seven occupations taken from the N.O.R.C. study according to their position in the rank order. Thus the highest status position, lawyer, was given a rank weight of 1.0 and the lowest a weight of 6.5 (store salesman and bus driver were tied for last place). Here again, the higher the score, the lower the aspiration level.

3. A third method of weighting the occupations was devised by taking the percentage of the entire sample of mothers who said that they would be satisfied with a particular occupation, and using the reciprocal of each percentage as the weight for that occupation. (The reciprocal was first multiplied by one thousand to eliminate decimals.) The mothers ranked the occupations somewhat differently than the N.O.R.C. ranking (assigning a higher status to bookkeeper and insurance agent and lower status to machinist and mail carrier). The assumption here is that the higher the percentage who answered "satisfied," the higher the status of the occupation. A score for each mother was obtained by summing the reciprocal weights for each occupation chosen. With this method, the highest status occupation is lawyer (score of 11.0), the lowest bus driver (48.0). All ten occupations were used in this index. The higher the subject's score, the lower her aspiration level.

TABLE 4. MEAN SCORES AND RANK POSITION OF SIX ETHNIC GROUPS USING THREE INDEXES OF VOCATIONAL ASPIRATION *

Ethnicity	Index of Vocational Aspiration: Number Satisfied	Rank Weight	Reciprocal Weight	N
French-Canadian	6.60 (5)	14.43 (5)	119.90 (5)	62
Italian	5.96 (4)	12.66 (4)	104.55 (4)	74
Greek	4.70 (2)	7.78 (2)	73.51 (2)	47
Jew	3.51 (1)	6.02 (1)	59.48 (1)	57
Negro	6.95 (6)	16.18 (6)	138.74 (6)	65
Protestant	5.28 (3)	10.12 (3)	88.19 (3)	122

* Rank positions are shown by figures in parentheses.

Although these indexes differ somewhat, they provide very similar data on ethnic group vocational aspirations. Table 4 shows the same rank ordering of groups for all three indexes, in descending order as follows: Jews, Greeks, Protestants, Italians, French-Canadians, and Negroes. A series of "t" tests of differences between group mean scores revealed differences and similarities much like those found for achievement motivation. Thus the Jews, Greeks, and Protestants show significantly higher mean scores (that is, they tend to be satisfied with fewer occupations and indicate satisfaction with only the higher status positions) than the Roman Catholic Italians and French-Canadians.[28] The mean score for Jews is significantly higher than the scores for Protestants and Greeks, but there are no significant differences between Greeks and Protestants, or between Italians and French-Canadians. The mean score for Negroes is significantly lower than the scores for all other groups except

Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," *Opinion News*, 9 (September 1, 1947). We substituted store salesman for store clerk and bus driver for streetcar motorman. The position of the three occupations which did not appear in the N.O.R.C. survey are ranked according to their similarity to occupations in the survey.

[28] Similar Jewish-Italian differences are reported in F. L. Strodtbeck, M. McDonald, and B. C. Rosen, "Evaluation of Occupations: A Reflection of Jewish and Italian Mobility Differences," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (October, 1957), pp. 546–553.

French-Canadians. In examining the aspirations of Negroes it should be remembered that most of these occupations are considered highly desirable by many Negroes, given their severely limited occupational opportunities, so that their aspiration level may appear low only by "white" standards. There are, however, these problems: are the Negro mothers (83 per cent) in earnest in saying that they intend for their sons to go to college? And, if so, how is this to be reconciled with their low vocational aspirations?

Social class, too, is significantly and directly related to vocational aspiration—a familiar finding—*but it is not as significant as ethnicity*. Analysis of variance of data for each of the three indexes reveals that ethnicity accounts for more of the variance than social class. For example, when the number of occupations with which the mother would be satisfied for her son is used as an index of vocational aspiration, the F ratio for ethnicity is 12.41 ($P < .001$) as compared with a ratio of 9.92 for social class ($P < .001$). The same pattern holds for data derived from the other two indexes. Although ethnicity and class interact, each contributing to the differences between groups, the effects of class are more apparent at the middle class (Classes I-II-III) than at the working and lower class (Classes IV-V) levels.

As the question was worded in this study, in one sense it is misleading to speak of the "height" of vocational aspirations. For all groups have "high" aspirations in that most mothers are content to have their sons achieve a high status. The basic difference between groups is in the "floor," so to speak, which they place on their aspirations. For example, at least 80 per cent of the mothers of each ethnic group said that they would be satisfied to have their sons be lawyers, but only two per cent of the Greeks and seven per cent of the Jews were content to have their sons become bus drivers, as compared with 26 per cent of the French-Canadians and 43 per cent of the Negroes. Again, 12 per cent of the Jewish, 22 per cent of the Protestant, and 29 per cent of the Greek mothers said that they would be satisfied to have their sons become department store salesmen, as compared with 48 per cent of the Italians, 51 per cent of the Negro, and 52 per cent of the French-Canadian mothers.

SUMMARY

This paper examines differences in motivation, values, and aspirations of six racial and ethnic groups which may explain in part their dissimilar social mobility rates. Analysis of ethnographic and attitudinal and personality data suggests that these groups differed, and to some extent still differ, in their orientation toward achievement. The data show that the groups place different emphases upon independence and achievement training in the rearing of children. As a consequence, achievement motivation is more characteristic of Greeks, Jews, and white Protestants than of Italians, French-Canadians, and Negroes. The data also indicate that Jews, Greeks, and Protestants are more likely to possess achievement values and higher educational and vocational aspirations than Italians and French-Canadians. The values and educational aspirations of the Negroes are higher than expected, being comparable to those of Jews, Greeks, and white Protestants, and higher than those of the Italians and French-Canadians. Vocational aspirations of Negroes, however, are the lowest of any group in the sample. Social class and ethnicity interact in influencing motivation, values, and aspirations; neither can predict an individual's score. Ethnic differences persist when social class is controlled, but some of the differences between ethnic groups in motivations, values, and aspirations are probably also a function of their class composition.

HUMOR IN NEGRO AND WHITE SUBCULTURES: A STUDY OF JOKES AMONG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

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This study surveys the types of jokes told and the social settings for joking among Negro and white university students. The data indicate no significant difference between Negroes and whites in the extent of joking and there is a sex difference only among the Negroes. Neither were there any significant differences between the race or sex groups in the telling of jokes with sexual subjects. Negroes told proportionately more anti-Negro jokes based on traditional stereotypes than did the whites. A national fad for "cruelty" jokes, however, became established only among the white students. When both sexes were present or when other than close friends were present whites were somewhat more inhibited than Negroes and females more inhibited than males in telling jokes.

ALTHOUGH the nature of humor has been a favorite subject of philosophical speculation since the time of Plato and Aristotle and numerous psychological studies of humor have been carried out, the field of humor has been comparatively neglected by sociologists. Among the few sociological studies which have been conducted thus far there have been three principal approaches. First, a majority of the studies have been concerned with the functions of humor in situations of inter-group conflict. Humor is seen as a mechanism for expressing aggression toward an out-group through the use of sarcasm and ridicule, thereby enhancing the morale of the members of the in-group and undermining the morale of those against whom the humor is directed.[1] Within the conflict frame of reference several authors have also pointed out that humor, in addition to expressing aggression, may serve as a means of accommodation, as in the case of the Negro slave who appeases his white master through self-ridicule and self-debasement.[2]

A second major emphasis in sociological study has been on the social control functions of humor within a group. Stephenson, for example, found in his analysis of published jokes dealing with social class differences that their primary function was not the expression of class conflict but rather the ridicule of deviations from a common value system which emphasizes equality and minimizes the importance of class distinctions.[3] Social control functions also appear to be important in the jokes told by Jews about themselves which hinge largely on the conflict between assimilation and traditional loyalties.[4]

Social anthropologists have developed a third approach to the functional study of humor, directing most of their attention toward formalized joking relationships, which are common in primitive societies. Radcliffe-Brown maintained that formalized joking generally develops when there exists a structural tendency toward friction and antagonism within a socially important relationship. The joking and the playful antagonism of teasing function to discourage the development of serious hostility and social disjunction.[5] Formalized joking relationships are rarely present in urban, industrial societies, but in a somewhat less institutionalized fash-

[1] See, for example, John H. Burma, "Humor as a Technique in Race Conflict," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (December, 1946), pp. 710–715; Milton L. Barron, "A Content Analysis of Intergroup Humor," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (February, 1950), pp. 88–94; Antonin J. Obrdlik, "'Gallows Humor'—A Sociological Phenomenon," *American Journal of Sociology*, 47 (March, 1942), pp. 709–716; John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, Third Edition, New York: Doubleday, 1957, pp. 168–170, 309–310.

[2] See Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, New York: Harper, 1944, p. 960; and Willis D. Weatherford and C. S. Johnson, *Race Relations*, Boston: D. C. Heath, 1934, p. 284.

[3] Richard M. Stephenson, "Conflict and Control Functions of Humor," *American Journal of Sociology*, 56 (May, 1951), pp. 569–574.

[4] Bernard Rosenberg and Gilbert Shapiro, "Marginality and Jewish Humor," *Midstream*, 4 (Spring, 1958), pp. 70–80.

[5] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, London: Cohen and West, 1952, pp. 90–116.

ion joking may serve a similar function. Bradney, for example, found a customary joking relationship in England among the sales assistants of a large department store where there were conflicting norms requiring both competition and cooperation.[6] Davis, Gardner, and Gardner have also reported that joking is often used to ease tensions in situations involving status contradictions, for example, in the case of a white store clerk who must wait on a Negro customer.[7]

Although these earlier sociological studies of humor provide considerable insight into the social functions of certain types of jokes, there are large gaps in our knowledge of the broad phenomenon of humor. That this is so is due in large part to the complex methodological problems involved in conducting systematic research on the subject. Many of the studies have been to a large extent impressionistic, with the authors illustrating general points with a few well-chosen examples of humor. Such investigations do not answer the question of how extensively jokes of particular types are told. In an effort to acquire greater precision and representativeness, other scholars have analyzed jokes which have appeared in published anthologies. This approach, however, necessitates the highly unrealistic assumption that published jokes are in fact representative of those in circulation in the population. There is the further disadvantage that the published joke is divorced from its social setting, and therefore provides no evidence concerning the characteristics of the tellers of jokes or the social circumstances under which they are told. Moreover, these studies, we believe, have tended to be unduly selective in the types and aspects of humor analyzed and have presented a somewhat one-sided picture of the functions of humor.

The present investigation was undertaken to analyze systematically a representative sample of the jokes in actual circulation among southern Negro and white university students and to determine the extent to which racial and sexual subcultural variations in humor are present. Several hypotheses were formulated with regard to the subcultural variations. Many authors have claimed that American Negroes tend to be less inhibited, more gregarious, sociable, and extroverted than whites; and males have been reported to be less inhibited and more assertive than females.[8] It was hypothesized, then, that Negroes as compared with whites and males as compared with females tell a greater number of jokes, tell a proportionately greater number of sexual jokes, tell a proportionately greater number of jokes in social settings involving the presence of both sexes, and tell a proportionately greater number of jokes to persons who are casual acquaintances or strangers rather than relatives or close friends. Because many of the earlier studies of humor emphasized the conflict function, it was expected that whites would tend to tell more jokes which are critical of Negroes than jokes which are critical of the treatment of Negroes by whites, and that the reverse situation would obtain for jokes told by Negroes. Finally, because of the generally diffused cultural inhibitions surrounding sex, it was hypothesized that in each racial and sex group a larger proportion of nonsexual jokes than of sexual jokes is told with members of both sexes present and to persons who are casual acquaintances or strangers rather than relatives or close friends. It was anticipated that this tendency would be especially pronounced in the case of whites as compared with Negroes and females as compared with males, because of reported differences in the degree of inhibition.

METHOD

Humor involves almost all verbal forms and situations which induce laughter. Only the joke or humorous anecdote was selected for analysis in this study. The joke is more formalized and is more readily diffusible than most other forms of humor, such as witty remarks which lose their point if removed from the context of the situation.

[6] Pamela Bradney, "The Joking Relationship in Industry," *Human Relations*, 10 (May, 1957), pp. 179–187.

[7] Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, p. 459.

[8] See Otto Klineberg, editor, *Characteristics of the American Negro*, New York: Harper, 1944, pp. 18–19; and L. M. Terman and C. C. Miles, *Sex and Personality: Studies in Masculinity and Femininity*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936, pp. 447–448.

Jokes, then, may be more reliably recorded than other forms of humor, and they also seem to be more clearly a social product reflecting group differences than other forms of humor.

The present study was carried out in January and February, 1958, primarily among students of two state-supported universities, one for Negroes and one for whites, located in a southern city. Seventy white male students, 70 white female students, 40 Negro male students, and 40 Negro female students were selected to serve as observers and to record the jokes which they heard other persons (except radio and television performers) tell during a period of one week.[9] The observers were instructed to duplicate the language of the teller as closely as possible, and they were also asked to indicate the race and sex of the teller, the sex of the persons who heard the joke, and the type of social relationship between themselves and the teller. To lessen the burden placed upon those exposed to a great number of jokes, the observers were told to record the text of only the first seven jokes which they heard but to note the total number of jokes audited. Only 14.5 per cent of the observers indicated that they had heard more than seven jokes during the week. The percentage was approximately the same for each racial and sex group except the white females, among whom less than 8 per cent heard more than seven jokes. In an effort to minimize the effects of inhibitions in reporting, especially obscene jokes, the anonymity of observers was maintained on the report forms. The importance of reporting all jokes up to a maximum of seven without being selective was also stressed to the observers. Sufficient background information was included in the report forms to permit the identification and elimination of duplicate reports of the same recounting of a joke. If the same joke was told by different persons or on different occasions, however, it was retained in the sample.

In this analysis of the data a classification scheme of five major types of jokes was utilized, based upon the distinction as to whether or not a joke depends upon ridicule for its humor. Among jokes of ridicule a distinction may be made between two main types: (1) those which ridicule an out-group or minority group and consequently have primarily a conflict function; and (2) those which ridicule deviant behavior within a group and thus have primarily a social control function. Among jokes not appearing to depend primarily upon ridicule for their humorous impact three types may be identified: (1) harmless jokes, consisting largely of puns and plays upon words; (2) sexual jokes, including those with excrementitious as well as overtly sexual themes, which provide a temporary release from the inhibitions of the sexual mores; and (3) "cruelty" jokes, which serve temporarily to lessen inhibitions of nonsexual mores.[10] In those cases in which jokes contained multiple themes and therefore might have been placed in more than one category, they were classified according to the dominant theme as judged by the investigators.

FINDINGS

Extent of Joking. Since joking did not occur between members of different racial groups, the mean number of jokes heard by the observers of each race may be taken as a measure of their relative frequency in each racial group. White observers reported hearing 4.5 jokes during the week, as contrasted to 5.1 jokes for Negro observers. Contrary to expectations, a t test revealed no significant difference between the means of the two racial groups.[11] Information regarding the sex of the teller was lacking for the total

[9] These observers were not selected in a completely random fashion, but it may be assumed that the observers circulated enough on each campus to observe a reasonably representative sample of the universe of jokes told during the week. It should be recognized, however, that some bias may have been introduced at this point.

[10] This classification is somewhat similar to that developed by Freud, who distinguished harmless wit from tendency wit, which was in turn subdivided into obscene wit serving as a sexual exhibition and hostile wit serving as an aggression, satire, or defense. See Sigmund Freud, "Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious," in A. A. Brill, editor, *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, New York: 1938, pp. 689–693.

[11] Throughout this paper "significant" refers to differences beyond the .05 level of confidence. Except in the present instance, all differences were tested with the chi square test of goodness of fit, utilizing two-by-two tables with one degree of freedom.

TABLE 1. TYPES OF JOKES TOLD, BY RACE AND SEX OF TELLER

Type of Joke	White			Negro		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Harmless	11.1%	11.3%	11.2%	9.1%	14.1%	10.9%
Sexual	52.7	47.2	50.1	44.1	48.7	45.7
Sexual	39.1	37.5	38.4	38.5	46.1	41.2
Homosexual	3.9	1.7	2.9	4.9	....	3.2
Excrementitious	9.7	8.0	8.8	.7	2.6	1.3
"Cruelty"	10.1	18.7	14.1	....	....	....
Ridicule of minority group or out-group	9.7	9.7	9.7	18.2	11.5	15.8
Anti-Negro	6.8	4.0	5.5	15.4	5.1	11.8
Anti-white	....	....	....	2.8	3.8	3.2
Anti-Semitic	1.4	1.1	1.3	....	....	....
Anti-Catholic	1.0	2.3	1.6	....	1.3	.4
Other	.5	2.3	1.3	....	1.3	.4
Ridicule of deviant behavior	16.4	13.1	14.9	28.6	25.7	27.6
	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*
Number of jokes	(207)	(176)	(383)	(143)	(78)	(221)

* Does not include percentages computed for sub-categories.

number of jokes heard but was available for those jokes which were recorded by the observers. Of the jokes recorded by white observers, 206 or 53.9 per cent were told by males and 176 or 46.1 per cent by females; of the jokes recorded by Negro observers, 143 or 64.7 per cent were told by males and 78 or 35.3 per cent by females. The difference in the extent of joking was significant for Negro males and females ($P<.001$), but not for white males and females.[12]

Harmless Jokes. In each racial and sex group the percentage of jokes told classified as harmless was approximately the same, about 11 per cent. (See Table 1.) Differences by race and sex did not prove to be significant.

Sexual Jokes. The subjects of a large proportion of the jokes told by each racial and sex group were sexual and excrementitious of varying degrees of obscenity. The percentage of jokes classified as sexual was 52.7 for white males, 47.2 for white females, 44.1 for Negro males, and 48.7 for Negro females. There was no significant difference in the telling of sexual jokes between Negroes and whites or between males and females within each of the racial groups. These data, then, do not support the hypotheses that Negroes tell proportionately more sexual jokes than do whites and that within each racial group males tell proportionately more sexual jokes than do females.

"Cruelty" Jokes. Beginning about 1957, the spread of "cruelty" jokes among school children and college and university students in the United States approached the intensity of earlier joke fads, such as the "Little Willie," "Little Audrey," "little moron," and "Confucius say . . ." fads. These cruelty jokes, also popularly known as "sick stories," "sadist jokes," "gruesome jokes," and "Bloody Marys," were similar to many of the "Little Willie" and "Little Audrey" stories in that they made fun of physical mutilations, death, disease, and some of the most deeply rooted mores of society.[13]

[12] $.10<P<.20$. The failure to obtain a significant difference between white males and white females may be due in part to the fact that white female observers were less likely to hear more than seven jokes than white male observers. Since each person recorded no more than seven jokes, and since each person was more likely to hear members of his own than of the opposite sex tell jokes, the actual difference between males and females in the extent of joke-telling tends to be understated by these data.

[13] Cf. the following characteristic Little Willie joke, quoted in Lewis Copeland, editor, *The World's Best Jokes* (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1936, p. 290):

Willie, with a thirst for gore,
Nailed the baby to the door.
Mother said, with humor quaint,
"Willie, dear, don't spoil the paint."

The cruelty jokes reported in this study may be illustrated:

"Son, when I rub this salve on your eyes you'll be able to see again."
"Mommy, I still can't see."
"April fool!"

"Mother, I don't like Baby Brother."
"Shut up, you brat, and eat what I give you."

"Daddy, Daddy, why am I running around in circles?"
"Shut up kid, or I'll nail your other foot to the floor!"

"Don't worry, Mrs. Hale. I'm sure we'll find your husband hanging around somewhere."

"Mother, this tomato juice doesn't taste good."
"Shut up and hurry up and drink it before it clots."

"Mrs. Jones, can Bobby come out to play?"
"Why you know Bobby has no arms or legs."
"Yes, but we want to use him as first base."

The cruelty joke fad seemed to be at its peak when the data for this study were collected. In spite of this popularity, not a single cruelty joke was reported by the Negro observers—the fad appears to have by-passed the Negro university campus.[14] On the other hand, 10.1 per cent of the jokes told by white males and 18.7 per cent of the jokes told by white females were of the cruelty variety. The difference between whites and Negroes in this respect was significant ($P<.001$); and white females also told significantly more cruelty jokes than did white males ($.01<P<.02$).

It is difficult to explain why a national fad should invade a white university campus but fail to become established on a Negro campus in the same city. A plausible explanation is that fads of particular types of jokes which are deemed improper for extensive use in the mass media are spread largely by word of mouth and personal contacts, and that in the South the pattern of segregation impedes the spread of such jokes between races, especially in the case of university students who generally have few interracial contacts. The cruelty joke fad received a certain amount of national publicity, however, and it was probably intensified by an article published in a foremost national news magazine in the fall of 1957.[15]

Ridicule of Minority Groups or Out-Groups. Jokes of ridicule directed at minority groups or out-groups constituted a relatively small proportion of the jokes told by whites. Only 9.7 per cent of the jokes were in this category, as compared to 11.2 per cent in the next smallest category, harmless jokes. Negro tellers, however, showed a significantly greater tendency than white tellers to tell jokes ridiculing a minority group or out-group ($.02<P<.05$).

Among the jokes told by whites most commonly ridiculed was the Negro group, although there were also a few anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic jokes. There were no jokes told by whites considered to be specifically anti-white in an intergroup context. Almost all of the anti-Negro jokes told by whites stressed traditional stereotypes of the Negro, and by far the most common theme was the presumed pronounced sexuality and freedom from sexual inhibitions of the Negro.[16] Some jokes accented other long-standing stereotypes such as the ascribed filthiness and ignorance of Negroes.

There were further anti-Negro themes. The following joke, for example, told by a white female in a small informal group of females stresses the unattractiveness of Negro women and the futility of their efforts to rise to the same level as white women:

A Negro woman came home from the beauty parlor and rushed into her bedroom and exclaimed, "Mirror, mirror on the wall, who is the most beautiful of them all?"
The mirror replied, "Snow White, you black b----, and don't forget it!"

The conflict function of the anti-Negro jokes is also clearly evident. Told by a white

[14] An informal survey at the Negro university three months later indicated that the cruelty joke fad had still not reached the campus although it had long since died out among white university students.

[15] "Bloody Mary, Anyone?" *Time*, 70 (October 21, 1957), p. 27.

[16] About 38 per cent of the anti-Negro jokes stressed the sexual theme, whereas in Barron's thematic analysis of 300 jokes about Negroes taken from published anthologies only 14 per cent were classified as having the theme "marital conflict and sexual disorganization," even though this is a somewhat broader category than the one used in this study. See Barron, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–91.

male in a small informal group of males, this joke, for example, seeks to ridicule the Negro protest movement:

> A Negro telephoned the librarian at the Library of Congress. He told the librarian that he represented the N.A.A.C.P. and that he heard that there were 20,000 books in the library with the word "Negro" in them. He wanted the word taken out. The librarian said that this was ridiculous. Why he had over 50,000 books with the word "bastard" in it. He couldn't take that out. To this the Negro replied, "I know, but you bastards aren't organized."

One joke told by a white male in a small informal group of both sexes supports the view that the southern Negro is content with his lot and that agitation for Negro rights comes primarily from "outsiders":

> A southern Negro had gone north. He was in a bar where the Negroes were standing at the counter mixed with white people. One northern Negro put his arm around a white man, turned to the southern Negro, and said, "You can't do this where you come from." To this the southern Negro replied, "No, we has a better class of white folks."

There was no significant difference between white males and white females in the telling of anti-Negro jokes.

Although the number of jokes told by whites expressing an animus against Negroes is by no means insignificant, they represent a fairly small proportion of the total number of jokes told. Probably the frequency with which whites tell anti-Negro jokes has been declining, reflecting in part the general disappearance from the mass media of jokes disparaging racial, religious, and ethnic minorities, and in part an increase in the defensiveness of white Southerners with regard to race relations. The comparatively small number of anti-Negro jokes, however, may be characteristic only of educated, middle or upper class whites, as represented by university students.

Among the jokes told by Negroes the minority group or out-group most frequently ridiculed was the Negro group itself. The Negro observers reported 26 anti-Negro jokes and only 7 anti-white jokes in an intergroup context, a highly significant difference ($P<.001$). Not only did Negroes tell more anti-Negro than anti-white jokes, but they told significantly more anti-Negro jokes than whites ($.001<P<.01$), as well as significantly more anti-white jokes than whites ($P<.001$). The number of jokes told by Negroes classified as anti-Negro is probably understated, for many of the other jokes ridicule behavior associated with such stereotypes as the immorality of preachers and the theft of chickens; but these jokes were classified under the category of ridicule of deviant behavior unless they included positive identification of the characters as Negroes.

Like those told by whites, anti-Negro jokes told by Negroes revolve around traditional stereotypes. Thus about 42 per cent of these jokes emphasized pronounced sexuality and freedom from sexual inhibitions and 19 per cent stressed fear or cowardice. Other jokes ridiculed the tendency to fight with knives and razors, dishonesty, stinginess, verbal difficulties, and so on.

The finding that Negro university students tend to tell more anti-Negro than anti-white jokes was unexpected. But the finding is not altogether surprising. It has often been noted that many jokes told by Jews, to cite a case comparable in some respects, ridicule their own group and are based upon prevailing stereotypes.[17] Various studies indicate that American Negroes tend to take the dominant whites as a reference group and are inclined to develop self-deprecatory attitudes as a consequence of their assumption of the values of the "white" culture.[18] It is possible, of course, that anti-Negro jokes told by Negro university students serve primarily a social control function with the ridicule directed less at Negroes in general than at lower class Negroes. Since Negro university students represent for the most part higher class levels, they cannot be taken as representative of the total Negro population. The question of whether or not anti-Negro jokes are a mechanism of social control along class lines cannot be answered until further study has indicated the extent to which anti-

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[17] See, e.g., Freud, *op. cit.*, pp. 704–707; Rosenberg and Shapiro, *op. cit.*, p. 75; and Sam Levenson, "The Dialect Comedian Should Vanish," *Commentary*, 14 (August, 1952), pp. 168–170.

[18] For one such study, showing the acceptance of white values on the part of young Negro children, see Kenneth B. Clark and Mamie P. Clark, "Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children," in G. E. Swanson, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley, editors, *Readings in Social Psychology*, New York: Henry Holt, 1952, pp. 557–560.

Negro jokes are told among lower class Negroes.

In the case of the anti-white jokes told by Negroes the conflict functions of humor are clearly evident once more. In one joke a Negro who is refused service in a restaurant tricks the waiter into serving him by posing as a Mexican, after which he insults the waiter with highly abusive language. Another joke ridicules the extremity of Jim Crow regulations by implying that Negroes are not even permitted to wear white shirts in a nearby small town. Other jokes derive their humor from a reversal of the stereotypes which are usually presented in anti-Negro jokes, as in the following example:

> A colored maid and her white employer became pregnant and gave birth at the same time. A few months later the white woman came running into the kitchen and said, "Oh, my baby said his first word today."
>
> The little colored baby who was in a basket on the floor looked around and said to her, "He did, wha' 'id 'e say?"

Ridicule of Deviant Behavior. This category includes all jokes of ridicule of behavior which deviates from a conventional norm which are not directed specifically at some group as a group. Thus drunkenness, ignorance, delinquency, vanity, opportunism, hypochondria, infidelity, and many other personal traits come in for their share of ridicule, and the foibles popularly ascribed to particular occupational groups, such as teachers, doctors, and psychiatrists, are also favorite subjects for joking. The dominant function of jokes which ridicule deviant behavior is of course social control, for they exert strong pressure for conformity with conventional norms.

Of the jokes which were told by Negroes 27.6 per cent could be categorized as ridicule of deviant behavior, as compared with only 14.9 per cent of those told by whites, a highly significant difference ($P<.001$). There was no significant difference between males and females for either racial group with respect to jokes of this type.

Audience Composition. The sex composition of the audience for the jokes reported was analyzed to determine whether or not there were variations by race and sex in the preferred social setting for joking. Consistent with the proposition that Negroes tend to be less inhibited verbally than whites, it was found that 50.7 per cent of the jokes reported by Negroes were told in social settings involving the presence of both sexes whereas only 31.9 per cent of the jokes reported by whites were told in two-sex situations. (See Table 2) The difference between the racial groups in this respect was significant ($P<.001$). Also consistent with expectations, white males proved to be significantly more inclined to tell jokes in the presence of both sexes than white females ($.02<P<.05$). Thus 36.9 per cent of the jokes told by white males were told with persons of both sexes present as compared with only 26.1 per cent of the jokes told by white females. Among the Negroes 56.6 per cent of the jokes told by Negro males but only 39.7 per cent of those told by Negro females were told in the presence of both sexes; this difference between Negro males and females was also significant ($.01<P<.02$).

Since sexual jokes could be expected to bring inhibitions into play more strongly than most other types, a further analysis

TABLE 2. SEX COMPOSITION OF AUDIENCES FOR JOKES TOLD, BY RACE AND SEX OF TELLER

Race and Sex of Teller	One Sex Present		Both Sexes Present		Total	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
White						
Male	130	63.1	76	36.9	206*	100.0
Female	130	73.9	46	26.1	176	100.0
Total	260	68.1	122	31.9	382	100.0
Negro						
Male	62	43.4	81	56.6	143	100.0
Female	47	60.3	31	39.7	78	100.0
Total	109	49.3	112	50.7	221	100.0

* Information on the sex composition of the audience for one joke was not reported and hence the joke is not included in this table.

was made to determine whether or not there was any difference in the sex composition of the audiences for sexual jokes and nonsexual jokes. Contrary to expectations, the differences in this respect were not significant when the joke tellers were white females, Negro males, or Negro females. There was a significant difference, however, for white males ($P<.001$). Only 21.1 per cent of the sexual jokes by white males were told in "mixed company," whereas 54.6 per cent of the nonsexual jokes were told when both sexes were present.

Relationship between Teller and Observer. Although three-fourths of the jokes reported were told in situations involving several persons the friendship relation between the teller and the observer may be taken as a rough measure of the friendship variable as related to joke-telling patterns. Consistent once more with the proposition that Negroes tend to be less inhibited verbally than whites, 42.1 per cent of the jokes by Negroes were told to observers who were casual acquaintances or strangers rather than relatives or close friends, whereas only 29.2 per cent of the jokes by whites were told to observers who were casual acquaintances or strangers. (See Table 3.) This difference between Negroes and whites was significant ($.001<P<.01$). There were also significant differences between males and females within the white group ($P<.001$) and the Negro group ($.001<P<.01$). Thus 19.3 per cent of the jokes by white females and 37.7 per cent of those by white males were told to observers who were casual acquaintances or strangers. Corresponding percentages for Negro males and Negro females were, respectively, 49.7 per cent and 28.2 per cent.

There was no significant difference in the proportions of sexual and nonsexual jokes told to persons who were casual acquaintances or strangers rather than relatives or close friends for any of the racial or sex groups.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The hypotheses that Negroes as compared with whites and males as compared with females would tell a greater number of jokes and a proportionately greater number of sexual jokes were not supported by the data, with the exception that Negro males told significantly more jokes than Negro females. On the other hand, there was a significantly greater tendency for Negroes as compared with whites and for males as compared with females to tell jokes when members of both sexes were present and to tell jokes to casual acquaintances or strangers rather than to relatives or close friends. No significant difference was found in the sex composition of the audience for sexual and nonsexual jokes except in the case of white male joke tellers, who appeared to be more inhibited verbally than the white females, Negro males, and Negro females in this respect. There was no significant tendency on the part of any of the groups to tell a greater proportion of sexual than nonsexual jokes to relatives or close friends rather than to casual acquaintances or strangers.

As expected, whites told a greater number of anti-Negro jokes than jokes which could be considered anti-white in an intergroup context. Only slightly more than 5 per cent of the jokes told by whites dealt with Negroes, however, a much lower proportion than the investigators had anticipated

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP OF OBSERVER TO JOKE TELLER, BY RACE AND SEX OF TELLER

Race and Sex of Teller	Close Friend or Relative		Casual Acquaintance or Stranger		Total	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
White						
Male	129	62.3	78	37.7	207	100.0
Female	142	80.7	34	19.3	176	100.0
Total	271	70.8	112	29.2	383	100.0
Negro						
Male	72	50.3	71	49.7	143	100.0
Female	56	71.8	22	28.2	78	100.0
Total	128	57.9	93	42.1	221	100.0

on the basis of previous accounts of other authors. Negroes told almost four times as many anti-Negro jokes as anti-white jokes, a datum that may reflect the adoption by Negroes of the values of a white reference group or, perhaps, the operation of a mechanism of social control along social class lines.

The results of this study should be accepted with some caution due to the possible bias of the observers in the reporting of jokes. For example, it may be argued that relatively few anti-white jokes were reported by Negroes because of a desire to present a nonoffensive "face" to the investigator. The Negro observers, however, were unaware that any white investigator was associated with the project or that Negro and white comparisons were to be made.

It should also be noted that males did not tell significantly more sexual jokes than females *in spite of* the possible under-reporting of sexual jokes by females, who understandably might feel some embarrassment in reporting obscene jokes—even anonymously—to a male investigator.

Previous sociological studies of humor which have concentrated upon jokes of ridicule and therefore upon its conflict and control functions have neglected much of the humor which circulates widely among the population. Social anthropologists have taken a somewhat broader view of the functions of humor in emphasizing its role in maintaining social solidarity and preventing social disjunction, but they have tended to limit their analyses to the formalized joking relationship. An important social function of humor which has not been sufficiently recognized is the creation and reinforcement of a sense of solidarity and intimacy within groups. Within closely knit groups the telling of a joke, obscene or otherwise, may serve to strengthen the feeling of intimacy and good will among the members. From the individual's point of view, a successful joke is a means of winning the social approval of the group, but in the very process of his seeking such approval the bonds of the group may be strengthened.

Joking also takes place, of course, in situations involving secondary relations: a salesman may regale his prospective customer with humorous stories in an effort to induce feeling of friendship; a lecturer may tell a joke in order to "warm up" his audience and put them in a more receptive mood.

The findings of the present study cannot be generalized beyond the southern white and Negro university subcultures. Further research in other population groups should be undertaken if the role of humor in American society is to be more thoroughly understood.

POWER STRUCTURE AND THE NEGRO SUB-COMMUNITY

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In this study the influence system in the Negro sub-community of "Pacific City" is related to other dimensions of the sub-community's social structure. The influential Negroes and Negro organizations were identified with a similar research design to that employed by Floyd Hunter in his study of "Regional City". This procedure provides a basis for comparing the findings of the two studies. The data indicate that the Negro leaders were primarily concerned with issues of an inter-racial nature. Their sub-community lacked large scale business and industrial organizations, and, consequently, no genuine power structure had developed. The investigation suggests the fruitfulness of a typological approach to the analysis of community influence systems. Use of such an approach would be most effective if carried out within the framework of a comparative research design.

RECENTLY Bernard Barber noted that "a hard look at contemporary social science will show that there is very little consensus on a theory of influence and that there is also very little sound empirical research on which such a theory might be based." [1] Also, Roucek has commented that

[1] Bernard Barber, *Social Stratification: A Comparative Analysis of Structure and Process*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1957, p. 234.

"there has been a definite disinclination to view the field of minority-majority relations as another aspect of human power relations.[2]

This paper reports findings from a study of influence and power as these phenomena operate within the context of the Negro sub-community of a large Northwestern city. The project was designed to replicate Floyd Hunter's work in the sub-community of "Regional City." [3] Hunter presents one of the few exceptions to Roucek's criticism noted above. Such studies represent a major step in the direction of bringing the field of minority relations out of the special value context within which it has long been encompassed and placing it within the framework of general sociology.

A comparison of the findings reported in this paper with Hunter's permits the study of functional relationships between the structure of the influence system and other dimensions of community structure. Such case studies offer a valuable, if partial, approach to the comparative study of communities. For example, Pellegrin and Coates have investigated the relationship between absentee ownership of the major industries of a middle-sized Southern city and the structure of power relations within that community.[4] In a study of the structures of power in an American and a British community, Miller reports differences in the occupational distribution of power leaders in the two contexts, which are related to the differences in the value systems of the two nations reflected in different prestige rankings associated with similar occupations.[5] These researches demonstrate the fruitfulness of attempts to develop a typology of power structures within the framework of comparative community theory. In addition, they further the understanding of community process and structure.

THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN PACIFIC CITY

As Hunter's "Regional City" dominates the economic and political organization of the Southeast, so the "Pacific City" of this study dominates in the Northwest. The two communities are quite similar in total population and economic structure.[6] Stimulated mainly by the expansion of job opportunities during and following World War II, the Negro community of Pacific City has greatly increased in population within the past seventeen years. Federal Census data show that from a total of 3,789 in 1940, the Negro population of Pacific City expanded to 15,666 in 1950, an increase of 313.5 per cent for the decade. It is estimated that at present the population is in excess of 25,000. The pattern of residential location is similar to that of most major American cities: Negroes are generally centrally located and highly concentrated in "black belt" areas. Although the city prides itself on its "liberal" policies concerning race relations, the index of residential segregation is high in relation to other comparable cities.[7] Early in the 1940s Negro migrants to the city were characteristically young, male, unskilled workers. Available evidence indicates, however, that since 1950 the stream of migration has included an increasing proportion of more highly educated, married men engaging in professional activities.

There are some important differences between the Negro communities of Pacific City and Regional City. The 1950 Census data show that Pacific City's Negro population comprised a relatively small proportion of the total population (approximately 3.4 per cent), whereas in Regional City approximately a third of the population was Negro. As noted above, the Negro population in Pacific City more than tripled in the decade 1940 to 1950. The corresponding rate for Regional City during that period was about 16 per cent. The former dramatic increase

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[2] Joseph S. Roucek, "Minority-Majority Relations in Their Power Aspects," *Phylon*, 17 (First Quarter, 1956), pp. 25–26.

[3] Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954.

[4] Roland J. Pellegrin and Charles H. Coates, "Absentee Owned Corporations and Community Power Structure," *American Journal of Sociology*, 61 (March, 1956), pp. 413–419.

[5] Delbert C. Miller, "Industry and Community Power Structure: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (February, 1958), pp. 9–15.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Donald O. Cowgill and Mary S. Cowgill, "An Index of Segregation Based on Block Statistics," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (December, 1951), p. 825.

has had a disturbing influence on the relatively stable pre-war Negro community of Pacific City. The incoming stream of migration has brought with it a large number of professionally trained Negroes of high occupational status; their leadership now appears to overshadow most of the "old time" community leaders. At the same time, many of the in-migrants came from Southern states, carrying the cultural characteristics of Negroes in that region, which, in many ways, were inconsistent with those of the Pacific City sub-community, resulting in some social disorganization.

The Negroes of Pacific City occupy somewhat more prestigeful and better paid jobs than those of Regional City. In 1950, a larger proportion of them were concentrated in service occupations, especially government jobs, as compared with the concentration of workers in the unskilled labor category in Regional City. These occupational differences are reflected in the income figures for the two communities. The Federal Census data show that in 1949 the median income for whites in Pacific City was 2,356 dollars as compared with 2,218 dollars in Regional City, while Pacific City's Negroes earned an average of 1,709 dollars in that year as compared with 1,045 dollars for Negroes in Regional City.

One index of the differences in the over-all patterns of interracial relations characteristic of the two cities may be seen in the legal structure of the two states. In Regional City the official policy of segregation in schools and other public facilities has long been supported by the law, while in Pacific City a state F.E.P. law has been in effect since 1949 as well as a longstanding "public accommodations" law. The state legislature recently passed an "Omnibus Civil Rights Bill" almost unanimously, with provisions for the protection of minority rights in housing as well as in public accommodations and employment. The schools of the community are officially non-segregated although the pattern of residential concentration has had its usual results: a high proportion of Negro children in relatively few schools.

STUDY DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Since this study was intended to replicate Hunter's work in Regional City, his research design was followed in so far as possible.[8] Therefore, during the initial stage of the project, in order to locate individuals characterized as influential within the Negro sub-community, lists of names of people who had held office in the major organizations of the sub-community, plus additional names gotten from interviews with Negro informants known to the authors, were obtained. The names of sub-community organizations through which influence might be channeled were taken from a list prepared by the Chamber of Commerce, supplemented by other organizations mentioned by Negro informants. Also, a list of "important issues for the sub-community" suggested by the informants was compiled. In addition, the local Negro newspaper provided other names of leaders, organizations, and issues. From these sources 154 potential influentials, 84 organizations, and about 12 issues were obtained.

Two questionnaires were constructed, one containing the names of the potential leaders and the other the organizations. A panel of ten Negro respondents, representative of the various institutional areas of the sub-community, was selected. In a personal interview each respondent reported how well he knew each potential influential and added names of others whom he believed to have been omitted. He then selected from the list the names of ten people he would choose "to help in a major project requiring a decision by a group of sub-community leaders." The interviewee also rated each of the organizations as "most influential," "influential," or "less influential" in initiating or supporting actions of importance to the Negroes in the city.

With information from the first ten interviews, the list of leaders was reduced to 33 names, each of which had received three or more choices from the ten previous respondents. The list of organizations was similarly reduced to a total of 27. These modified lists were submitted to six other Negro informants who, in turn, were asked to rate the leaders and organizations and to add the names which they believed to have been omitted. The resulting final lists consisted of 36 probable influentials and 27 organizations.[9]

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[8] Hunter, *op. cit.*, "Appendix: Methods of Study," pp. 262–271.

[9] Cf. Robert O. Schulze and Leonard U. Blum-

A second phase of the field work involved interviewing the 36 probable influentials.[10] Each respondent was asked to fill out a questionnaire seeking information about his background and activities in the community.[11] The respondent was asked to indicate how well he knew each of the other influentials and to estimate his average monthly number of social and committee contacts with each; and, again, the respondents were invited to add the names of any leaders they felt had been omitted from the list. Each was asked: "If you were responsible for a *major* project which was before the community that required *decision* by a group of leaders—leaders that nearly everyone would accept—which ten on this list would you choose, regardless of whether they are known personally to you or not?"

Each influential also was asked to rate the 27 organizations on the three-point scale of influence, adding such other groups that he believed had been omitted. Finally, each was asked to name two issues or projects which he considered to be "most crucial" to the sub-community. The respondent indicated whether or not anyone had contacted him about each issue, whether he had contacted others, and what media of communications were used in these contacts.

THE FINDINGS

Sub-Community Leaders. This study is primarily concerned with the 36 probable leaders whose names received three or more mentions by the panel of 16 judges. The names of these leaders, their occupations, the number of votes each received as a "top leader," and the number of mutual choices each received, are listed in Table 1.

Sixteen (or 44 per cent) of the leaders are women. This tends to confirm the popular belief, expressed by several of the leaders themselves, that women hold high positions in the leadership structure of the sub-community. Although two of the individuals high on the list in terms of number of votes are women, for the total group of 36 leaders women received an average of 6.1 votes compared with an average of 13.9 for men. This generally lower position of women in the leadership structure is probably due to the nature of their participation in the organizational activities of the community. Although, on the average, female leaders belong to about as many organizations as do men (8.42 memberships for men and 8.25 for women), women far exceed the men in fraternal and "social" activities. In this respect, we find many more women participating in the leadership activities of the sub-community than did Hunter. Male leaders concentrate their organizational activities in civic and professional organizations.

The findings concerning the age distribution of the leaders differ from those of Hunter. The mean age of the 36 Negro leaders was 44.8 years; Hunter's comparable figure is 54.3 years.

About 52 per cent of the leaders in the Pacific City sub-community were self-employed, averaging about three employees under their supervision. Two leaders supervised more than ten employees: a nursing home operator supervised 18 employees, and an insurance executive supervised 16 workers. (No non-leaders employed a sizeable number of workers.) Again these findings differ markedly from those of Regional City, where Hunter found that the "top leader" supervised 1800 workers and that eleven others supervised 25 or more workers. The much smaller figures for Pacific City reflect the positions held by the top leaders in the occupational structure of the community. Eight of the 36 leaders were engaged in small business activities, including insurance and real estate brokerages, a drug store owner, a beauty school, and a photography shop, while most of the leaders were professionals: five social workers, four lawyers, three physicians, three public school teachers, two ministers, and one architect. If power within the community derives in part from high positions in its economic or political structure, it is clear that none of these leaders

berg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," *American Journal of Sociology,* 63 (November, 1957), pp. 290–296.

[10] All of the interviews were conducted by Baha Abu-Laban, a former resident of the Middle East, whose swarthy appearance stimulated short friendly chats with the respondents and comments concerning his ethnic identity. The interviews were characterized by a high level of rapport in our judgment.

[11] Twenty-nine of the 36 respondents returned these questionnaires.

TABLE 1. SUB-COMMUNITY LEADERS RANKED BY NUMBER OF VOTES RECEIVED FROM OTHER LEADERS IN LEADERSHIP POLL

Leader	Number of Votes	Number of Mutual Choices	Occupation
1. Walters	31	9	Social Worker
2. Taylor	27	7	Lawyer
3. Bassett	25	6	Small business (druggist)
4. Troy	25	8	Minister
5. Barner	24	9	Architect
6. Baldwin	22	6	Lawyer
7. Smith *	20	10	Housewife
8. Treat *	17	4	Social Worker
9. Moster	16	6	Minister
10. Willard	15	4	Retired
11. Williams	13	4	Small business (bail bond)
12. Stephens	12	2	Social Worker
13. Worth	12	2	Small business (real estate)
14. Hardy *	10	3	Social Worker
15. Fallsworth	9	1	Small business (photographer)
16. Dunham	9	2	Physician
17. Young *	9	3	Office Secretary
18. Parks *	7	4	School Teacher
19. Main *	6	4	Personnel Clerk
20. Barrier *	6	1	Housewife
21. Olaf *	6	2	Sales (insurance)
22. Ford	5	3	Small business (insurance)
23. Stone *	5	3	Unknown
24. Homer	4	1	Lawyer
25. Planter	4	2	Small business (nursing home)
26. McNeil	3	0	Dentist
27. Spear *	3	2	Small business (beauty school)
28. Masters *	3	1	School Teacher
29. Horne *	3	2	Unknown
30. Roberts	3	1	Physician
31. Moore *	2	0	Social Worker
32. Miller *	2	1	Sales (real estate)
33. Stewart	2	0	Lawyer (Pros. Office)
34. Taylor *	2	1	School Teacher
35. Sullivan	1	0	Small business (dry cleaning)
36. Gold *	1	1	Service Worker

* Denotes female leader.

in Pacific City's Negro sub-community possessed such power.

Only four of the 36 leaders were locally born (within the state). On the other hand, 60 per cent of them came originally from the South. These figures reflect the impact of migration on the leadership structure of the community. Although the leaders had been in Pacific City for 16.5 years on the average, only 80 per cent of them owned their homes. The leaders had also achieved a fairly high educational status, having completed about 16 years of school on the average.

The "Top Seven Leaders." In an attempt to determine whether or not there was any "leadership clique" among the Negroes of Pacific City a special analysis was made of the seven persons who had been mentioned as "top leaders" by one half or more of the 36 people interviewed. These seven "elitists" were distinguished from the other leaders by superior educational attainment, *shorter* length of residence in the community, and by their sex, all but one being men. All of the top seven owned their homes and four of them were self-employed.

Hunter demonstrates that the "top leadership group in the Negro sub-community tends toward closure" in two ways. First, almost all of the leaders were known to each other ("Ninety per cent of the leaders know each other 'well' or 'socially' ") and, second, his sociometric data show a correla-

tion between the number of votes received as a top leader and the number of mutual choices.[12]

Acquaintanceship among the 36 leaders in this study was also very high, with 93 per cent of the leaders reporting knowing each other "well" or "slightly." Among the seven top leaders, all reported that they knew each of the others well. In addition, with the exception of "Smith-Baldwin," all of the top seven reported having both "committee and social contacts with each other regularly." These findings tend to confirm those of Hunter on this point.

Table 1 lists the names of the leaders, the number of votes they received, and the number of mutual choices they achieved. The well known correlation between sociometric leadership standing and the number of reciprocated choices achieved as a leader holds for our top seven, for they received an average of 7.9 such choices whereas the remaining leaders averaged 2.0. A further indication of the formation of a "closed" top leadership group is the relationship between the actual number of mutual choices and the total possible number of mutual choices. Within the top seven, of the 21 possible mutual choices,[13] 13 (or 62 per cent) were actually made, and in only one case was there a reciprocal nonchoice.

These top seven were only slightly better known to the wider leadership group than were the others. Use of an "acquaintanceship score," with a range from zero (not known to any of the other leaders in the group of 36) to 105 (known well by all other members of the leadership group),[14] gave these seven an average score of 95.6 as compared with 90.9 for the remainder of the group.

One major differentiating characteristic of the top seven leaders is the degree to which they participated with others in organizational committee activities. Their participation average with the other leaders was 16.7 as compared with 10.6 such contacts for the remaining 29. This supports the contention of several of the respondents that "the top leaders in this community got there because they were very active in organizational work." The belief was expressed that if such activity ceased the top leadership position would quickly be lost.

The top seven shared one other characteristic: each had taken part, at one time or another, in interracial activities in an "equal status" context in which he (or she) acted as a spokesman for the Negro community. Here, perhaps, is a case of "prestige drainage," with Negro leaders draining prestige from the white leaders with whom they were in contact.

Issues Confronting the Sub-Community. If the nature of the power process in the local community is to be fully understood the types of issues that are most crucial to those who exercise this power must be analyzed. Each of the 36 leaders was asked: "What, in your opinion, are two of the major issues before the Negro community—either immediately past or current?" Table 2 lists the issues mentioned and the frequency of their mention.

From Table 2 it is apparent that the issues of concern to the leaders identified in this study were those associated with problems of interracial relations and the effects of minority group status, and more specifically, with attempts to change the existing social structure of the community. In spite of the

TABLE 2. ISSUES BEFORE THE NEGRO SUB-COMMUNITY LISTED BY FREQUENCY OF MENTION BY 36 SUB-COMMUNITY LEADERS

Type of Issue	Number of Times Mentioned
Minority Housing	33
Civil Rights Legislation	17
Concentration of Minority Children in the Schools	11
Parks and Recreational Facilities in Minority Residential Areas	4
Discrimination in Employment and Career Counseling for Children	4
Police Brutality	1
Unity in Action within the Sub-Community	1
No issues mentioned	1

[12] Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 119 ff.

[13] A "mutual choice" was defined as the instance in which there was a reciprocal selection as a top leader.

[14] Each respondent was asked to indicate "how well he felt he knew" each of the other members of the leadership group on a four-point scale ("Don't know," "Heard of," "Know slightly," "Know well"), with each response assigned a weight from 0 to 3.

presence of at least one organization of Negro business men and the fact that several of the leaders were themselves business men, their major concerns did not directly involve business problems (or most political programs). In their position as *leaders in the Negro sub-community,* they were preoccupied with problems of the "Negro protest." In some measure, perhaps, this interest reflects the attitude that, lacking the needed power, their influence on major decisions concerning general economic and political policy in the community is minimal.

Community Organizations and the Structure of Power. The formal organizations and adminstrative agencies, as well as the less formal but relatively stable cliques, offer mechanisms through which community decision-making activities may be channeled. In Regional City, Hunter reports that, although the "top" and six other leaders in the sub-community did not generally work through formal policy committees, the majority did so.[15]

In an attempt to identify the organizations in Pacific City through which policy decisions flow, a list of the major organizations in the sub-community was drawn up.[16] Each of the 36 leaders was asked to rate each organization on a three-point scale as (1) most influential, (2) influential, and (3) less influential. These organizations are listed in Table 3 in order of the numbers of "most influential" votes.

In two respects this list is comparable to that reported in Hunter's study.[17] Although eight of the 27 organizations listed are of the Greek letter variety, none of these received more than two mentions as "most influential," indicating that at best they play a relatively minor role in the decision-making activities of the sub-community. And, again as in the case of Hunter's list, the organizations considered "most influential" (including the local Urban League, although its major function is community organization and case work) have a pronounced political content in their programs. With one minor exception, the churches, perhaps the most fully segregated of all sub-community organizations, were not mentioned—an interesting finding, especially in view of the fact that two of the top ten leaders are ministers.

TABLE 3. SUB-COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS RATED BY 36 SUB-COMMUNITY LEADERS, RANKED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF "MOST INFLUENTIAL" RATINGS RECEIVED

Organization	Number of "Most Influential" Ratings
Urban League	33
N.A.A.C.P.	29
Jackson Street Community Council	17
Christian Friends for Racial Equality	17
Association of Colored Women	16
Eastside Y. W. C. A.	16
East Madison Street Commercial Club	16
Cosmopolitan Century Club	9
Eastside Y.M.C.A.	8
Prince Hall Masons	6
The People's Institutional Baptist Church	4
The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters	4
Philorati Club	4
Mary Mahoney Registered Nurses	3
Fraternal Organization	2
Veteran's Organization	2
Fraternal Organization	2
Fraternal Organization	2
Fraternal Organization	1
Sorority	1
Fraternal Organization	1
Fir State Golf Club	1
Fraternal Organization	1
Church Club	1
The Elks	1

Three further observations concerning these organizations are in point here. First, six of the top seven groups are directly concerned with interracial relations and "race betterment." Second, only one of the organizations on the entire list (ranking seventh) has as its principal interest the business organization of the sub-community. Finally, although union membership among Pacific City's Negroes is fairly widespread, only one union was mentioned, one that rated low in influence. This finding is consistent with the fact that, although there are several professional Negro union leaders in the community, none of them was cited as a "top leader." It appears that the major concern of the Negro sub-community, as well as of its leaders, lies with issues centering around minority status and group protest.

It may be noted that no "luncheon clubs," "supper clubs," or other informally organ-

[15] Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

[16] The technique of obtaining this list of organizations is discussed above.

[17] Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–126.

ized groups appear on the list of the influential organizations. Early in the field work, an attempt was made to discover any such groups, but only one, the "Sunday Night Supper Club," was mentioned. One informant, a recent migrant to the community and a highly trained educator, in citing this club, noted that several top leaders whose names appear in Table 1 were active members. However, the club was only recently organized and appears to be primarily a recreational group.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

According to Mills, Hunter, Miller and others, the structure of power in American society and in American communities is derived in large part from the institutional structure of the society. The majority of the leaders identified by Hunter and Miller in their field studies were occupants of high positions in the economic organization of their communities. Mills argues that power resides principally in the realms of economic, political, and military organization, and suggests further, that the structure of the "power elite" is related to the rate and nature of social change in a society at any given time. The fruitfulness of a comparative approach to the study of power is suggested by these views. Such an approach would aim at specifying the conditions relevant to the type of power structure and processes in a community or society and would require a typology of community power structures.

Although the findings of this study do not, of course, make it possible to develop a systematic theory of power, the following conclusions are relevant to this purpose. First, it is evident that, although there is an identifiable structure of leadership in the sub-community of Pacific City at the present time, the leaders themselves are not "power wielders" or "decision makers" in the sense in which the terms are used by Hunter and Mills: they hold positions of little importance to the community's institutional structures; their decisions have no serious ramifications for the larger community.

In Pacific City there is an ecologically identifiable "Negro community"—why is there no genuine power structure of the type found in Regional City? This lack can be attributed in part to the relatively small Negro population, insufficient to support large-scale separate institutions; in part to the rapid expansion of the population in the sub-community (evidence from interviews indicates that the old-leadership structure [prior to 1940] was disrupted and almost wholly destroyed by the impact of the incoming migrants); and in part to the attitudes of the leading figures in the minority community, who have worked hard for liberal legislation, better education for Negroes, and better housing on an open market. In this work they have been remarkably successful, and prefer not to risk these gains by supporting segregated institutions.

Several of the respondents insisted that it is incorrect to speak of a "Negro community" in Pacific City, maintaining that most Negroes are not conscious of being members of a racial community as they are in many other cities. Perhaps this helps to explain why the Negro leaders are those who are active in "protest" organizations—for these may be about all that remain of a Negro sub-community.

In any event, the sub-communities of Regional City and Pacific City represent quite different types. The well organized, stable structure of power in Regional City is missing in Pacific City. Although leadership groups have certain similar characteristics, those in Regional City wield power *within* the sub-community and those in Pacific City do not. Leaders in Regional City are motivated, at least in some measure, to maintain their segregated sub-community, while in Pacific City the leaders seek opposite goals. These findings emphasize the importance of the general community context in the study of power relations.

RESEARCH REPORTS AND NOTES

THE RESHUFFLING PHENOMENON: A PATTERN OF RESIDENCE OF UNSEGREGATED NEGROES *

BULKELEY SMITH, JR.
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The ecological shifts of Negro populations within northern cities have interested students of sociology for a considerable time. Traditionally we have looked for one form of movement, namely the invasion of localities contiguous to established segregated areas.[1] In 1951 a second type of residential mobility was noted in Milwaukee by Brussat, consisting of "rather saltatory leap-frogging over white areas to establish minor Negro districts in deteriorating outlying areas." [2] Rose, Atelsek, and McDonald noted in 1953 that "there are now a large number of otherwise white neighborhoods into which one or two Negro families have moved." [3]

In the course of a study of residential segregation of Negroes in New Haven a fourth type of residential movement was observed.

As Table 1 indicates, New Haven Negroes live under extremely varied conditions of racial density, a density which appears to be on the increase. The city contains two major segregated areas, both of which expanded between 1940 and 1950, as well as several blocks, scattered throughout the city, which contain very few dwelling units occupied by non-whites. In general, changes in the patterns of residence and residential expansion between 1940 and 1950 could be explained either by the concept of invasion and succession, Rose's scattering, or perhaps by Brussat's saltatory movements. When the block data for the censuses of 1940 and 1950 were plotted on a map, however, a seemingly new type of movement appeared. It was confined to blocks containing less than ten per cent non-white occupants; usually there was only one Negro family living on each block.

This movement can be described as a reshuffling—resulting in approximately a 50 per cent turnover of the blocks in this category. During the 1940–1950 period seventy-six of these blocks lost all of their Negro residents while seventy-two formerly all-white blocks changed to the extent that ten per cent or less of the inhabitants were non-white.

This change followed no discernible spatial pattern. In about one third of the cases the new low-density blocks were contiguous to those which they were replacing. The rest of these newly invaded blocks were scattered throughout the city. There is some doubt as to the accuracy of census enumerators in counting Negro residents in white areas,[4] but the changes are sufficiently widespread so that we can assume that they are not merely a reflection of the errors of census-takers.

Despite the apparent lack of spatial patterning of these changes, evidence which suggests a trend appears when the 1940 and 1950 blocks are located in the Davie-Myers Ecological Map of New Haven.[5] This map classifies New Haven into six "ecological areas" [6] plus the Yale University area, industrial areas, and open country. The classification ranges from Area I, contain-

* This article is based on the author's unpublished doctoral dissertation, *The Differential Residential Segregation of Working-Class Negroes in New Haven*, Yale University, New Haven, 1957.

[1] Robert E. Park, "Human Ecology," *American Journal of Sociology*, 42 (July, 1936), pp. 1–15; "Succession, an Ecological Concept," *American Sociological Review*, 1 (April, 1936), pp. 171–179.

[2] William K. Brussat, "Incidental Findings on Urban Invasion," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (February, 1951), p. 95.

[3] Arnold M. Rose, Frank J. Atelsek, and Lawrence R. McDonald, "Neighborhood Reactions to Isolated Negro Residents: An Alternative to Invasion and Succession," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (October, 1953), pp. 497–507.

[4] The writer discovered three Negro families living in one of the two wards listed as all-white in the 1950 Census. They had lived there continuously at least since 1940, and as their neighborhoods were pretty stable, may no longer have been particularly visible as Negroes. One of the families may have crossed the color-line. This suggests further research to determine whether or not isolated Negroes tend to become invisible after a period of extended residence in a white neighborhood.

[5] Maurice R. Davie and his staff classified all of New Haven into six residential classes, or "ecological areas" in the 1930s. In 1950, Jerome K. Myers brought Davie's map up to date, and expanded it to include surrounding towns.

[6] These "ecological areas" are not truly areas but classes of them. Thus "Area VI" is not one part of the city, but includes all blocks showing certain characteristics, whatever their location.

TABLE 1. NEW HAVEN BLOCKS OCCUPIED BY NON-WHITES BY CATEGORIES OF SEGREGATION, 1940 AND 1950

Percentage of Non-White Occupied Dwelling Units Per Block	1940 Census		1950 Census	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1–9	156	79	142	62
10–49	28	14	62	27
50–89	10	5	23	10
90–99	4	2	—	—
100	—	—	2	1
	198	100	229	100

ing the best houses in the city, to Area VI, where the poorest slums are to be found. Between 1940 and 1950 the number of new blocks with less than ten per cent non-white residency increased in the poorest areas and decreased in the better ones. Thus Areas I and II lost nine blocks or twelve per cent of the total, which were replaced by five blocks or seven per cent of the total. Area IV accounted for seven of the lost blocks and gained only three, a drop from ten to four per cent. On the other hand, Area VI, which lost nineteen, or a quarter of the blocks in this category, gained twenty-four blocks, or one third of the new one to nine per cent non-white occupied blocks which appeared in the 1950 census. It seems likely that during this period Negroes who pioneered in previously all-white blocks either chose, or were forced to accept, housing in areas of lower status than that being vacated by Negroes at the same time in other predominantly white-occupied blocks. Moreover, new blocks in the category of ten to forty-nine per cent non-white occupancy, which increased from twenty-eight blocks in 1940 to sixty-two in 1950, also were found about twice as often in Area VI and in industrial areas as anywhere else in the city. It appears, therefore, that this tendency for Negroes increasingly to enter poorer areas is not confined to predominantly white blocks.

Of what significance, then, is this reshuffling of relatively isolated Negro residents? First, it suggests the possibility that Negroes have some freedom of movement within certain ecological areas, perhaps increasingly the poorer ones. They continually penetrate blocks formerly occupied solely by whites—and continually leave them. Furthermore, the reshuffling indicates that unsegregated Negroes do not necessarily settle down permanently, but often move again, either to other unsegregated areas or back to the "black belts" of the city.

This can be explained in part by the financial hazards entailed in moving from the ghetto. Generally, Negroes who move into predominantly white areas buy their housing[7]—renting from

[7] Henry G. Stetler, *Private Interracial Neighborhoods in Connecticut*, Hartford: Commission on Civil Rights, 1957, table 14, p. 14; Otis Dudley

TABLE 2. NEW HAVEN BLOCKS WITH ONE-NINE PERCENTAGE OF NON-WHITE RESIDENCY, BY ECOLOGICAL AREA

Ecological Areas	In 1940 Census not in 1950 Census		In 1950 Census not in 1940 Census	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Area I	3	4	2	3
Area II	6	8	3	4
Area III	9	12	8	11
Area IV	7	10	3	4
Area V	31	40	29	40
Area VI	19	25	24	33
Yale University	—	—	1	1
Industry	1	1	2	3
Open Country	—	—	1	1
	76	100	72	100

whites is close to impossible. Renting from other Negroes is unsure, unless one is renting from relatives, since the colored landlord is frequently under pressure from his relatives to get *them* housed decently in a situation where unsegregated housing is usually tight. The process of buying is also dangerous. Unsegregated housing available to Negroes is usually overpriced, and often in rundown condition, necessitating substantial and frequently unexpected repairs. Since Negroes are usually short of capital, purchases are often financed in an unsound fashion and mortages consequently are frequently foreclosed.[8]

The view, sometimes expressed, that the inhabitants of unsegregated blocks are all "Old New Haveners" who have always been there is negated by the movement itself. It is impossible for them always to have been there if there were no Negroes there at the last census. Furthermore, an investigation by the writer turned up evidence that isolated Negro residents frequently were not "Old New Haveners," but came from the various sources of New Haven's Negro population. The reshuffling movement is a continuing one and maintains considerable vigor in spite of the increasing concentration of Negroes in New Haven's central black belt.

Finally, and most important, the reshuffling phenomenon shows the difficulty of predicting the appearance of new segregated areas on the basis of the appearance of isolated Negro families. Duncan has pointed out that in areas containing about ten per cent Negroes or more a decrease in Negro population is unlikely.[9] Our evidence indicates that smaller settlements of Negroes are not significant harbingers of invasion.[10] The appearance of a new Negro family in a previously all-white block may lead to invasion, or may lead to no further racial change, or may turn out to be a temporary aberration to be corrected in the next census. On the basis of our data, the next Negro to move into such an area may just as well appear in the next block or two away as in the same one. All of this leads one to suspect that the time-honored folk notion that "if one Negro gets in, the neighborhood is doomed," is only tenable under conditions which have yet to be spelled out.

Duncan and Beverly Duncan, *The Negro Population of Chicago: A Study of Residential Succession*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957, p. 234; Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 ff.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 78–79.

[9] Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[10] Small increases in blocks adjoining established segregated areas might be an exception to this.

UP FROM THE RANKS ON A FAST ESCALATOR

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In October of 1954 there appeared in a number of national mass circulation magazines a Bell System advertisement emblazoned with the following words: UP FROM THE RANKS.[1] Pictured on the two-page spread were nineteen successful executives, all presidents of Bell System companies. According to the information provided in the copy, these men averaging 34 years of service with the Bell System had started at the bottom of the ladder with low salaries and humble positions. As the advertisement puts it: "The Bell System is an up from the ranks business and it aims to keep the opportunity for advancement open to all." And, "This has been true of the telephone business for many years and it is nowhere better illustrated than in the careers of the men who serve as presidents of Bell System Companies."

This kind of advertisement is not uncommon. Like similar "institutional" advertisements it was evidently published for the purpose of creating good will. In this instance the message exploits the popular American belief in opportunity and success. By publicizing what are in effect the "rags to riches" triumphs of its most successful executives the Bell System reinforces the Algerian myth of success. And by associating its enterprise with that myth the Bell System probably elicits public good will.

In the first four columns of the accompanying table, data provided in the advertisement appear to support the "Up from the Ranks" claim of the Bell System. Most of the presidents apparently began on the bottom rungs of their occupational ladder and with the passage of time climbed (laboriously it may be supposed) to the very top.

Yet some doubt may be expressed about such a conclusion. In column five of the table are presented data *not* provided in the Bell System advertisement, namely, the educational backgrounds of the "Up from the Ranks" presidents.[2]

The educational achievements of these men at the time of their initial employment shows that they were not ordinary rank and file employees. It is hardly realistic to suppose that the Bell System hired them for rank and file

[1] See, for example, *Time Magazine*, October 11, 1954, pp. 24–25.

[2] Information on the education of the Bell System presidents is taken from *Who's Who in America*, Chicago: Marquis-Who's Who, Vol. 26, 1950–51, and Vol. 29, 1956–57.

BACKGROUND DATA OF BELL SYSTEM PRESIDENTS

Company President	Date of First Employment	First Pay	First Job	Education
1	1913	$15 per wk.	Equipment Man	B.S. in Electrical Engineering, University of Missouri, 1913
2	1911	12 per wk.	Engineer's Asst.	Ph.B. Sheffield Scientific School, Yale, 1911
3	1923	30 per wk.	Installer	E.E. Virginia Military Institute, 1922
4	1920	30 per wk.	Traffic Student	A.B. Bowdoin College, 1920
5	1923	27 per wk.	Clerk	Student, University of Maine, 1919–1921 B.S. University of Pennsylvania, 1923
6	1914	50 per mo.	Contract Clerk	Ph.B. University of Chicago, 1914
7	1922	57 per wk.	Engineer	Student, Ohio State University, 1913–1916
8	1913	14 per wk.	Clerk	Student, Riverside Military Academy B.S. University of Georgia, 1913
9	1917	60 per mo.	Groundman	A.B. College of Emporia, 1917 Student, University of Edinburgh, 1919
10	1922	25 per wk.	Engineer Asst.	B.S. University of Missouri, 1922
11	1924	25 per wk.	Groundman	B.S.E. University of Minnesota, 1924
12	1918	40 per wk.	Physicist	B.S. Missouri School of Mines and Metal, 1914 M.S. University of Kentucky, 1915 Ph.D. University of Chicago, 1918
13	1923	100 per mo.	Traffic Student	A.B. University of Colorado, 1923 LL.B. Westminster Law School, 1925 Student, University of Denver, 1929–1931
14	1919	35 per wk.	Clerk	B.S. Chemical Engineering, University of Wisconsin, 1917
15	1925	27 per wk.	Engineering Asst.	U.S. Naval Academy, 1923
16	1928	30 per wk.	Lineman	Graduate, Yale, 1928
17	1912	50 per mo.	Clerk	Public Schools, San Francisco
18	1907	18 per mo.	Clerk	No information on education in *Who's Who*
19	1929	130 per mo.	Traffic Student	A.B. University of Illinois, 1929; M.S. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1940

use. Nor would one suppose that these men, some with Ivy League degrees, technical education, and Phi Beta Kappa keys were destined to remain in the ranks very long, if indeed they were ever in the ranks. The claim of "Up from the Ranks," while technically correct, involves a transparent deception.

Doubt in the soundness of the advertisement's conclusion is further reinforced when the following question is raised: What sort of people attended college between 1900 and 1930? In 1900 college graduates equalled 1.7 per cent of all persons reaching the age of 22 in that year.[3] In 1920 the percentage was 2.6, in 1940, 8.1, and in 1953 something over 12 per cent. Since half of the Bell System presidents were graduated before 1920 and half after 1920, the figure 2.6 may be taken to be roughly correct for that group. In brief, these men were from a very small segment of the population. That this was a socially and economically favored segment needs no extended commentary or documentation.[4]

[3] Dael Wolfle, *America's Resources of Specialized Talent*, New York: Harper, 1954, p. 25.

[4] Of course, the small number who graduated from college did include upwardly mobile persons. Possibly some of the AT&T presidents were not from "economically favored" families.

COMMUNICATIONS

STRATIFICATION AND FUNCTIONALISM: AN EXCHANGE

The Abominable Heresy: A Reply to Dr. Buckley

To the Editor:

Walter Buckley's attack on the so-called Davis-Moore theory of stratification[1] suggests that the theory contains an abominable heresy. How else can the repetitive distortion and vehemence in the critique be explained?

A heresy is a belief which, though it contains a fundamental "error," is so seductive that it threatens to engulf the faithful unless constantly and implacably attacked. Dr. Buckley finds the Davis-Moore theory "particularly disturbing" because it "views as virtues" the "very factors that others view as vices." The article of course does not brand anything as vice or praise anything as virtue (it is merely an attempted scientific explanation); but in his opening paragraph our critic makes it clear that *he* is concerned with some kind of moral issue. Furthermore, he views the consequences of the theory as awful to behold, because it "jettisons much of the previous work done in this area and promotes an insuperable discontinuity in sociological research." Yet he feels compelled to note (with exasperation, to be sure) that despite such dire results and despite its patent fallacies exposed so many times, the theory still receives "widespread acceptance." Clearly, the heresy it contains is so grave and seductive as to require just the vigorous "refutation" that Dr. Buckley provides.

Of course, since heresey is meaningless in the scientific sphere, Dr. Buckley and his fellow faithful must not admit that it is heresy they are attacking. They must appear to reject the Davis-Moore theory solely because it is logically fallacious or empirically untrue. The actual nature of the heresy they condemn can therefore be discovered only by examining the *latent* functions of their criticisms (if Dr. Buckly will pardon the expression).

For instance, the entire manifest basis of the present attack is simply a matter of usage. The Davis-Moore article applies the term "stratification" to the system of unequal rewards attached to different positions in a society. It is the existence of such unequal reward systems that the theory tries to explain. Dr. Buckley prefers to mean by "stratification" the inheritance of social position by individuals. This is all right with me, and there is certainly good linguistic ground for doing so. But having made this decision, he cannot logically claim that the theory in question attempts to explain stratification *in his sense,* and is vulnerable because it fails to do so successfully. His statement that ours is "not a theory of stratification at all but something that more closely resembles a theory of certain aspects of social differentiation and hierarchical organization" is absolutelly correct, given *his* meaning of stratification; but we used the term precisely to refer to certain aspects of social differentiation and hierarchical organization—aspects that we were careful to specify. In other words, the Davis-Moore theory does what he claims it does not do, and *vice versa.*

Our critic's semantic obfuscation would be less objectionable if the original article had been obscure as to what it was attempting to do, or if this terminological issue had not been raised long ago and dealt with in my subsequent publications. The original article, as quoted by Buckley himself, clearly specifies the phenomenon being dealt with, regardless of what it is called. Moreover, five years ago, in my reply to Tumin's critique,[2] I said:

> On the one hand, it [the term "stratification"] is used by us to designate the institutionalized inequality of rewards as between broad strata. On the other hand, it is used (as Tumin does implicitly) to mean the inheritance of class status. With the latter definition, of course, the idea that stratification contributes to upward mobility is incongruous. One cannot expect a theory designed to account for the universal existence of institutionalized inequality as between positions to be, at the same time, an explanation of the inheritance of class status. However, it is possible to extend the theory by combining with it a general analysis of the family's articulation with the differential reward system in society. This has been done by Davis, . . . It is this extension of the theory that Tumin ignores.

[1] "Social Stratification and the Functional Theory of Social Differentiation," *American Sociological Review,* 23 (August, 1958), pp. 369–375.

[2] *American Sociological Review,* 18 (August, 1953), pp. 395–396.

These words are plain enough. The fact that Buckley ignores them can be explained on the assumption that he wanted to distort the issue.

Beyond this terminological matter I can find in Dr. Buckley's article no other of the "methodological deficiencies" that he says he is criticizing. Yet one further feature of his remarks is worth noting. His attack leaves some uncertainty as to whether he is against functional explanation in general or the functional theory of inequality of social positions in particular. The history of the Medieval church will show, I think, that in suppressing heresies it is better to take them one at a time. In so far as our critic rests his case on the usage of the word "stratification," he is on weak ground for attacking functional theory in general. Examination shows, however, that just as he confuses the issue with respect to stratification, so he uses terminology to confuse the issue with respect to functionalism. His statement in footnote 32 implies a definition that excludes from functionalism any analysis of a structure in relation to other structures in the society. To save Malinowski from turning over in his grave, let us hastily point out that what Buckley thus excludes is the very thing that most of what is called functionalism tries to do. Apparently, he is drawing a caricature for the purpose of convenience in "refutation."

Finally, the most significant thing about Dr. Buckley's paper is that he himself proposes no alternative theory of positional inequality or, for that matter, of what he calls stratification. If he had any scientific curiosity about the subject one would expect him not only to refute an existing theory but to supply another in its place. Instead, he falls back on a tenet of Marxian faith. "For an explanation of its [stratification's] ubiquity," he writes, "we must turn . . . to the sociocultural dynamics of particular times and places." (p. 373) Just how one explains the *ubiquity* of something solely in terms of *particular* times and places he does not elaborate. He himself offers no theory at all.

The real heresy in the Davis-Moore article and the Barber book can now, I think, be identified. It is not the use of the term "stratification" or any of the other manifest considerations. It is rather the sin of believing that *any* scientific explanation of social inequality can be found. A functional theory of the inequality of social positions seemingly arouses more hostility from emotional social scientists than any other application of functional theory. Why? Because it is a topic that touches the sentiments that agitate these people, just as a functional explanation of religion arouses the deepest antagonism of believers in the supernatural. A scientific explanation of something is emotionally neutral. The task of social science, to judge by a sizable contingent of its practitioners, is to specify what is virtuous and point out what is vicious, and thus to justify action. One essential part of this task, then, is to expose the fallacies of theories that fail to justify the proper action. From this point of view, a scientific explanation of something is tantamount to a justification of it, since it affords no particular ground for moral condemnation and social reform.

The Davis-Moore theory of social inequality can certainly be improved upon. Along with others, I have tried to do so in writings that my critic conveniently ignores. Improvement in the theory will come, however, by modification and extension rather than by all-out attack without replacement. The fact remains, of course, that the more the theory is improved as a scientific explanation, the more intrasigent will be the attacks on it as a heresy. For this reason, I find the continuing critical interest in the Davis-Moore statement to be a source of great satisfaction.

KINGSLEY DAVIS
University of California, Berkeley

FUNCTIONALISM: A REPLY TO DR. BUCKLEY

To the Editor:

As an amateur in that field, I prefer to leave detailed criticisms of Dr. Buckley's views on stratification to such professionals as Davis and Moore. It may amuse them. I have, however, somewhat more of a vested interest in his references to various concepts of function and to the method he associates with those concepts.

My queasiness starts with Dr. Buckley's first paragraph in which he alleges that Davis and Moore have identified certain "functions" of stratification as virtues. He makes "virtue" synonymous with the concept of "eufunction" and "vice" synonymous with "disfunction." I have just reread the original Davis-Moore article as well as that of Davis containing the concept on which the Davis-Moore article is based. While they do regard stratification as having certain eufunctional aspects for societies, I have not been able to uncover assertions by them indicating either approval or disapproval of this state of affairs; indeed, in this respect at least they seem to have tried rather hard. Therefore it is Dr. Buckley's facile identification of these specific concepts of function with virtue and vice that I must address. I think I am

acquainted with the source from which Dr. Buckley got at least one of these two concepts. If he will revisit that source, he will find the use and misuse of the concepts of eufunction and disfunction (with or without explicit or implicit introduction of values taken from the point of view of the observer) discussed *ad nauseam* along with the fallacy of functional teleology and other associated follies.

I would not bring up this question were it not for the fact that having gone out of his way to confuse the concepts of "eufunction" and "disfunction" explicitly with "virtue" and "vice," he suggests here and in other of his work that the human tendency to read evaluations into functional analysis, even though it is not necessarily involved, probably dooms such an approach forever to misuse. I suspect, and here I may do him an injustice, that for this reason he would consider us far better off if we abandoned what he refers to as "functionalism" altogether and sought alternatives (to which I refer below).

I am prepared to grab a flag and lead the parade that insists that many have committed sins in the name of functional analysis, most frequently because many of us, implicitly and unintentionally, do what apparently Dr. Buckley would do by explicit preference. I do not feel, however, that misuse of an approach or even of concepts is a good argument for scepticism about them. The fact that so many otherwise astute scholars insist on using the term "infinite" to refer to large (sometimes in this context "large" means "difficult to handle" or "unknown") finite numbers is no reason to hint that the infirmity may inhere in the more precise usage or that the more precise usage might well be abandoned. It is also, I might add gratuitously, not an argument for switching to the less precise usage because that has a larger popular following. The history of science shows us no cases of progress, as far as I know, derivative from catering to such infirmities.

Dr. Buckley refers only in a passing footnote (32) to his alternative or "non-functionalist orientation." In so far as I understand what he is driving at, this alternative seems to be one of many special forms of functional analysis if that kind of analysis is shorn of its often associated nonsense and teleology. Perhaps this confusion arises from another infirmity that seems to beset us all in some respect or quarter. In the absence of certain words it is sometimes difficult to know that one usually speaks prose.

MARION J. LEVY, JR.

Princeton University

A REJOINDER TO FUNCTIONALISTS DR. DAVIS AND DR. LEVY

To the Editor:

In response to that part of Dr. Davis' "Abominable" letter to be taken seriously, I should like to elaborate a little on two points. First, in the light of its long usage in social science, in calling their theory of positional differentiation a theory of stratification Davis and his followers have misused the latter concept and given it an emasculated meaning unique to themselves. It is gratifying that Dr. Davis has reiterated the fact that his theory involves only a circumscribed aspect of positional differentiation and has nothing to say about such things as class differentials in education, in aspirations, and in life-styles and life-chances; or about power, prestige, wealth, and other phenomena that bear directly on the growth, maintenance, and continuity of social strata. Pointing this out once again might be beneficial to those now writing works on stratification by alerting them to the dangers of using the Davis theory, as did Dr. Barber, thinking that it has something to do with social classes, or stratification, in the established scientific sense.

Dr. Davis appears to believe that the way a well-established scientific concept is used is merely a matter of personal preference. Little comment is required here. My article documented to some extent the substantial distinction between the Davis definition and that prevailing in social science. It is unfortunate, though perhaps understandable, that Dr. Davis did not answer this point in other than an emotive way, raising a spectre haunting to many and reading in as he did a moral issue where none exists. Cannot one be scientifically disturbed by two or more theories that interpret the same phenomena in diametrically opposite ways? (A fairly extensive analysis and theoretical formulation of my own views is to be found in the source from which my article was excerpted, available on microfilm as Library of Congress No. Mic 58–2554.)

Secondly, however, the issue is not entirely one of definition. Whether the phenomenon is called "stratification" or "institutionalized inequality of rewards as between broad strata," any theory concerning it would seem to involve social inheritance if we are to avoid vague generalities. The Davis theory, as I see it, is pretty much confined to the proposition that in all societies positions are differentiated, require different qualifications, have different degrees of importance, and command different material rewards—hence, some persons' incomes must always be greater or less than others. As a

generalization, I have little quarrel with this. However, this tells us exceedingly little about the much wider problem of institutionalized inequality, a problem that has almost always concerned itself with the *range and distribution* of income differentials and their subcultural patternings. I am sure that Dr. Davis has not meant to say that it is inevitable in any society that, since positions are differentiated, then ten per cent, or fifty per cent, or ninety per cent of the population must live at subsistence level or lower. Hence, I fail to see the value of a theory that states the mere fact of differentiations without considering whether or not, and in what way, they are of social significance. If we consider Ralph Linton's dictum that "Fortunately, human beings are so mutable that almost any normal individual can be trained to the adequate performance of almost any role," we can see that the significant variable underlying the great historical differences in the amount and distribution of social rewards does not lie on the side of positional differentiation but rather on the side of differential opportunity available to persons and groups. Contrary to Dr. Davis' view, then, I believe that a general theory of institutionalized inequality should embrace, if it is to be empirically relevant, the facts of social class inheritance. Perhaps it is Dr. Davis' neglect of the connection between scientific generalization and the particulars (empirical data) ubiquitous or common to many times and places that accounts for some of the difficulty. These features of every known stratified society, which may lead us to an empirically relevant theory, include the facts of power, prestige, wealth, and their interrelations with stratum differentials of life-chances and life-styles.

Since the question of functionalism itself has been raised by both Dr. Davis and Dr. Levy, a word about it is called for, although I shall not repeat the conclusions of my critique made elsewhere.

First of all, Dr. Levy is entirely justified in taking me to task for seeming to equate eufunction and disfunction with virtue and vice, respectively. My intention, however, was not to identify the pairs of terms but to present them as disjunctive or alternative: some have viewed stratification as eufunctional, others as disfunctional; some have viewed it as good for society, others bad. Although this is a side issue (I am sorry that Dr. Levy did not pursue the main argument, if only for his amusement), apologies are due for this ambiguity.

The more central issue is the criticism that I have failed to acknowledge functionalism's concern with the interrelations of one part of a social system with other parts. It should be made clear, however, that this concern is not unique to functionalism . . . . Any science or scientific frame of analysis worthy of the name treats the interdependence of parts of a larger whole or system—including the major orientations in sociology. It must come as a surprise to many of us not of the functionalist persuasion that, according to Dr. Levy's apparently provincial view, any worthwhile scientific analysis must of necessity be some special kind of functionalism—or perhaps we should write *Functionalism* to remind Levy of the distinction between prose and poetry.

It is of interest to note that neither Dr. Levy nor Dr. Davis has acknowledged that feature unique to Functionalism—the feature most important in leading me to reject this orientation. True to its biological inspiration, sociological Functionalism refers structures and their consequences, not merely to other structures, but to a more far-reaching societal "survival" or "maintenance" or "necessity." As a rule, and perhaps of necessity, this ephemeral referent point "society" is not specified in any empirically relevant way beyond a listing of the very general features that enter into the very definition of the term. Nevertheless, "society" becomes, in this framework, a reified, acting agent. Thus, for Davis, "As a functioning mechanism society must somehow distribute its members in social positions and induce them to perform the duties of these positions. It must thus concern itself with motivation . . . ." And so on. Such a treatment illustrates Nadel's criticism that functional analysis tends to short-circuit explanation. For it is not "society," of course, that does these things, but flesh-and-blood members of [social groups] and classes acting within a cultural matrix of values, ideologies, and institutional forms differentially established by them and their antecedents. Functional theory must finally descend to this level if it is to be filled with content. But when and if it does, Functionalist problems of "societal prerequisites" and the like recede into the background and Functionalism becomes a more prosaic functionalism to which we all adhere.

If the Functionalist takes seriously the intricate web of interrelations of structures and consequences in a social system, he must recognize that it is a long and speculative leap from any empirically delimited structure to a direct pronouncement on a final societal consequence, or from a general societal prerequisite to any specifiable structure. Merton's well-known analysis should have made this quite clear. In fact, Merton's definition of function (latent or manifest) as *consequences,* I would argue, has gone a long

way toward reducing Functionalism to functionalism, shearing off the strictly biological overtones of "function," and suggesting that we be satisfied for the present with less than the ultimate.

And there is the question of whether the game is not lost to begin with due to the breakdown of the biological analogy at this point: social systems, unlike biological systems, have no relatively fixed or "normal" structure to serve as a reference point against which to assess the contributions of specific structures to their "survival" or "demise," "health" or "disease." A unique characteristic of social systems is their capacity to respond to malintegrated or malfunctioning structures (relative to other coexisting structures) by a *change of structure while still persisting* as a definable system, or by splitting or merging with other systems. These changes of the system are made, directly or indirectly, by thinking, feeling, role-playing, group-belonging persons, who define situations, make decisions, and carry them out in one way or another. Whatever the consequences, the society seldom fails to "survive," and never "dies" in other than a poetic sense. The Functionalists' persistent neglect of this historically demonstrated capacity for creating *structural alternatives*, and their often easy acceptance of what has been, or is, for what will be in the future . . . may perhaps be chalked up to the deficiency in historical perspective common to many of us in this country.

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"SUICIDE AND OCCUPATION": A CORRECTION

Berthold Brenner has called my attention to the fact that, in editing his communication, "Suicide and Occupation" (*American Sociological Review*, 23 [October, 1958], p. 578), I "omitted [his] statement to the effect that *because* professional-managerial is the occupational category most frequently occupied by white males in Tulsa, *therefore*, according to the theory of [Jack P.] Gibbs and [Walter T.] Martin ["A Theory of Status Integration and Its Relation to Suicide," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (April, 1958)] this is the occupational category most highly 'integrated' with the white-male, color-sex status combination. As published, the communication simply states that the theory of Gibbs and Martin indicates that professional-managerial is the occupational status most highly 'integrated' with the white-male, color-sex combination. This, according to the theory, is of course not always so." My apologies to Messrs. Brenner, Gibbs and Martin, and to the Review's readers for this careless editorial surgery.

The Editor

THE PROFESSION: REPORTS AND OPINION

SOCIOLOGY IN AMERICAN COLLEGES: FIFTEEN YEARS LATER*

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In 1942, Raymond and Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, in this journal, reported on a survey of sociology courses in American colleges.[1] They asserted that by inquiring "into what sociologists actually teach in their main field of pedagogical endeavor, the undergraduate colleges," they would find "an answer phrased in terms of the statement: 'Sociology is what sociologists teach.'"[2] Accordingly, a survey of sociology courses listed in college catalogues for the years 1939 to 1941 was conducted.[3]

The assertion that determining what sociologists teach is "the best means of getting a true answer"[4] to "what is sociology?" is questionable. However, the Kennedys have provided us with information on what was taught in the early 'forties under the heading "Sociology." A comparable survey, performed fifteen years later, provides clues about the changes, the war and post-war developments in the discipline, which are reflected in current curricula.

METHOD

Using the Kennedys' definition of the universe, a one-fourth random sample of relevant institutions[5] was drawn and the latest catalogues, dating from 1954 to 1957, were gathered.

As is shown in Table 1, the samples of the two surveys are similar in all except two categories: Catholic and Protestant colleges. In the 1942 study, "the former are under-represented, the latter over-represented."[6] The 1957 sample, a random selection of institutions, does not contain this error.

The data were tabulated according to sex of student body, sponsorship, location, and size of student body of the colleges. Since the 1942 article merely listed marginal percentage distributions and presented all other information in rank order, the 1957 data are arranged similarly. (The Kennedys employed a rank-order system which does not permit direct comparison with a later study. We translated their system into the more usual type; the ordering is unaffected by the change.) The sociology courses listed in the catalogues were coded according to the categories of the previous study;[7] classification was based upon course description, not title.

* This study was suggested by Milton L. Barron, who served as a student aide in the 1942 survey. The investigation was conducted under the auspices of the Social Research Laboratory, The City College of New York, which is directed by Dr. Barron. The authors acknowledge with thanks the assistance of Mr. Martin A. Kuhn, The CCNY Library, and Miss Darthela Wilcox, Library School Library, Columbia University.

[1] Raymond Kennedy and Ruby Jo Kennedy, "Sociology in American Colleges," *American Sociological Review*, (October, 1942), pp. 661–675.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 661.

[3] Only universities, colleges, and teachers' colleges offering a full four-year curriculum were surveyed. If an institution had an undergraduate sociology department, all courses in the department were included; otherwise its catalogue was examined for sociology courses offered in other departments and these were included. Their sample of 607 colleges constituted 65.1 per cent of the 928 colleges in the defined universe.

[4] The subject matter that is uniquely sociological may be more profitably defined by the conceptual developments in the field. These theoretical contributions may be less affected by economic pressures acting upon the employing department (which may find it necessary to cater to supplying the demands of student consumers) and the sociologist-teacher seeking employment. Added to the fact that the student consumer usually "buys" without regard to what is properly defined as sociology by sociologists, college administrators or senior faculty members doing the hiring, recommending tenure, and approving courses also may disregard the sociologists' idea of sociology or simply be ignorant of it. Moreover, sociologists are engaged in professional activities other than teaching.

[5] The sample was drawn from institutions listed as II, III, or IV and as b, c, d, e, f, j, or k (i.e., four-year liberal arts and science and teacher colleges) in the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, *Educational Directory*, Part 3, Higher Education, 1955–56; see pp. 1 and 2 for the classifications. Twenty-five per cent or 269 of the universe of 1071 institutions were randomly selected; data were not available for six of the 269 institutions. We followed the procedure of the 1942 study as presented in footnote 3 above.

[6] Kennedy and Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 662.

[7] Most courses could be placed without difficulty into one or another of the Kennedy classifications. Others were placed under what seems to be the most appropriate heading, for example: penology and

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF THE COLLEGES IN THE 1942 AND 1957 SAMPLES BY LOCATION, SEX OF STUDENT BODY, AND SPONSORSHIP OF COLLEGE

	1942 Sample		1957 Sample	
	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent
Location:				
Northeast	149	24.5	69	26.2
Middle West	194	31.9	87	33.1
Far West	59	9.7	31	11.8
South	205	33.9	76	28.9
Sex of Student Body:				
Men	94	13.8	25	9.5
Women	91	16.7	39	14.9
Coeducational	422	69.5	199	75.6
Sponsorship:				
Protestant	267	43.9	47	17.9
Roman Catholic	51	8.4	71	27.0
Non-sectarian	289	47.7	145	55.1
Number of Colleges in the Sample	607	100.0	263	100.0

In joint departments, with the exception noted below, courses that were judged to be solely in the province of the other discipline were not included in the study. For example, a course on "finance" in a joint department of economics and sociology, was judged as non-sociological and excluded from the enumeration. Courses for which doubt existed as to proper placement, such as "labor relations," were included. In joint departments of sociology and anthropology, however, all courses were included. Proper placement of anthropology courses proved so difficult and time-consuming that the inclusion of all of them seemed to be the best solution. Courses lacking a content reference, labelled, for example, as "conference," "thesis," or "seminar," were not counted.

juvenile delinquency courses were classed as "Criminology," communications and propaganda as "Social Psychology," personality and culture as "Anthropology," social legislation as "Public Welfare," social control and social change as "Social Processes," industrial sociology and labor relations as "Economic Sociology," collective behavior as "Social Movements," stratification as "Social Organization."

In addition to their 31 subject classifications, the Kennedys established a "Deviant" heading. This included categories with less than ten courses in the whole sample. Most of these were lone variants, such as Problems of Alcohol, Sociology for Nurses, Art of Straight Thinking, Social Adjustment to University Life, Problems of Youth, Personal Problems, Personnel Problems, Training Course for Camp Counselors, and Principles of Boy Scouting. Kennedy and Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 664 and 670.

Being a comparative study, we used the same categories as the 1942 survey. Courses which did not fit these categories were considered as "Deviant" even though there were more than ten in the sample. Some "Deviant" course of 1942 may have become respectable by 1957.

COMPARISON OF THE 1942 AND 1957 DATA

In 1942, the seven highest ranking courses—general sociology, social problems, marriage and the family, social work, criminology, research methods, and social psychology—constituted 51 per cent of the total offerings in sociology and joint sociology and anthropology departments. In 1957, these seven, but with anthropology replacing research methods, constituted 52.3 per cent of the total offerings.

The rise in anthropology from between ninth and tenth to first place may be a result of the multiplication of anthropology courses in joint departments, for we are now totaling the offerings of an entire discipline, including its introductory courses, and comparing that figure with thirty-one subdivisions of another discipline. (In table 2, it will be noted that the largest growth of anthropology has taken place in schools with the highest enrollments.)

The decline in the research methods course seems to refute the claim that "Within the past 15 or 20 years, courses in methods of social research have come to occupy an increasingly important role in sociological curricula."[8] Our data compare the situation fifteen years ago with today's and, if we may interpret the phrase

[8] William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, *Methods in Social Research*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952, p. 1.

TABLE 2. COMPARISON OF RANK ORDER DISTRIBUTION OF COURSE GROUPINGS IN SOCIOLOGY BY SEX OF STUDENT BODY, SPONSORSHIP, AND LOCATION AND SIZE OF STUDENT BODY OF COLLEGE, 1942 AND 1957

Course Groupings	General Rank and Percentage				Sex of Student Body of College					
	1942		1957		Men		Women		Coed	
	Rank	Per Cent	Rank	Per Cent	1942	1957	1942	1957	1942	1957
General Sociology	1	11.7	2	9.1	1	2	1	2	1	2
Social Problems	2	9.2	5	6.3	2	9.5	2.5	7	2	5
Marriage and the Family	3	8.1	3	7.6	3.5	5	2.5	5	3	3
Social Work	4	5.9	6	6.1	8	11	4	3	5	6
Criminology	5	5.8	4	7.2	3.5	6.5	8.5	8	4	4
Research Methods	6	5.2	16	2.8	9	12	5	14.5	6.5	16
Social Psychology	7	5.1	8	5.5	7	3	10	9.5	8	7
Rural Sociology	8	4.6	11	3.2	12	18.5	14	25	6.5	11
Anthropology	9.5	4.3	1	10.5	6	1	8.5	4	9	1
Social Theory	9.5	4.3	9	5.4	5	6.5	6	6	10.5	8
Race and Ethnic Groups	11	3.7	10	4.5	20	9.5	12	9.5	10.5	10
Urban Sociology	12	3.5	14.5	2.9	11	21	16	18	12	12
Public Welfare	13	3.0	19.5	1.6	10	16	7	16	14.5	20
Population Problems	14.5	2.7	13	3.0	16.5	13.5	14	20	13	12
Social Processes	14.5	2.7	18	2.0	15	13.5	17	22	14.5	17
Child Welfare	16	2.2	24	.8	18	24.5	11	12.5	17.5	25.5
"Deviants"	17.5	2.0	7	5.8	13	4	20	1	17.5	9
Community Organization	17.5	2.0	19.5	1.8	28	24.5	14	14.5	17.5	19
Economic Sociology	19	1.9	14.5	2.9	14	16	18.5	12.5	*22	14
Educational Sociology	20	1.8	23	1.0	28	29.5	25.5	31.5	17.5	23
Social Movements	21.5	1.6	22	1.2	16.5	21	21	25	20	22
Social Organization	21.5	1.6	12	3.0	20	8	22	18	21	15
Statistics	23	1.5	21	1.4	23.5	18.5	18.5	18	26.5	21
Social History	24.5	.9	32	.2	23.5	27.5	25.5	22	24.5	32
Social Geography	24.5	.9	29.5	.2	28	29.5	25.5	28.5	23	29.5
Social Science Orientation	26	.8	26	.6	28	21	28.5	28.5	24.5	25.5
Religion	27	.7	25	.6	20	24.5	30.5	28.5	26.5	24
Urban-Rural Sociology	28	.6	17	2.0	28	16	28.5	11	28.5	18
Leisure and Recreation	29.5	.5	31	.2	31	31.5	32	31.5	28.5	27.5
Social Ethics	29.5	.5	27	.3	22	27.5	25.5	22	31	29.5
Leadership	31	.4	28	.2	32	31.5	30.5	25	30	27.5
Political Sociology	32	.3	29.5	.2	25	24.5	23	28.5	32	31
Number of Colleges	607		263		94	25	91	39	422	199

* A slight error was apparently made in this cell in the 1942 study. We have taken the liberty of correcting it, basing our figure on other data in the table.

TABLE 2—Continued

	Sponsorship of College						Location of College							
	Catholic		Protestant		Non-sectarian		Northeast		Middle West		Far West		South	
	1942	1957	1942	1957	1942	1957	1942	1957	1942	1957	1942	1957	1942	1957
General Sociology	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2.5	1	1	1	2
Social Problems	2	6	2	5	2	6	2	8	2	7	2	6.5	2	5
Marriage and the Family	5	5	3	2	3	3	3	4	3	4	4	8	3	3
Social Work	3	3	7	3	4	9	7	5	4	5	3	5	6	9
Criminology	4	7	4	4	6	4	6	7	5.5	2.5	7	3	5	4
Research Methods	10.5	15	8	13	5	16	4	15	7	14.5	5	13	11	14
Social Psychology	9	9	5	8	9	5	9	11	5.5	8	6	2	8	7
Rural Sociology	13	20	6	10	7	15	16	24.5	8	11	8	14.5	4	10
Anthropology	10.5	8	9	6	8	1	8	1	9	1	10	6.5	10	1
Social Theory	8	4	12	12	10	7	5	6	11	9	9	4	12	8
Race and Ethnic Groups	21	10	10.5	9	11	8	13.5	10	12	10	13.5	9.5	7	6
Urban Sociology	14	22.5	10.5	11	14	13	13.5	19.5	10	13	20.5	18.5	9	11
Public Welfare	6.5	12	15	17.5	15	21.5	10	16	14	19	18.5	22.5	14.5	19
Population Problems	17.5	22.5	13	14.5	12.5	12	11	13.5	13	14.5	11	14.5	17	13
Social Processes	21	20	20.5	21	12.5	17	12	17	17.5	21	12	12	14.5	17.5
Child Welfare	6.5	14	19	25	17.5	26	21	27.5	15.5	23	13.5	27	13	24
"Deviants"	15	1	22.5	7	16	11	17	3	21	6	16.5	9.5	18	12
Community Organization	25	20	16	16	17.5	20	19.5	19.5	20	20	20.5	21	16	15
Economic Sociology	12	13	18	14.5	21	14	18	12	15.5	12	15	17	22.5	17.5
Educational Sociology	25	24	14	23.5	23	23	24	22	17.5	24	23	22.5	20	20
Social Movements	17.5	26	17	21	21	21.5	22	21	19	22	16.5	20	19	22
Social Organizations	28.5	17.5	22.5	19	19	10	15	9	23	17	18.5	11	21	16
Statistics	16	16	26.5	23.5	21	19	19.5	18	22	18	22	16	25	22
Social History	28.5	26	28	31.5	24	31.5	25	30	24.5	28.5	24	30.5	27	31
Social Geography	30	—	24.5	27	25	29	30	30	26.5	28.5	25	30.5	22.5	28
Social Science Orientation	31.5	26	20.5	26	27	24.5	28.5	24.5	28.5	28.5	31.5	30.5	24	22
Religion	21	30.5	24.5	21	27	24.5	23	23	26.5	26	28	24.5	29.5	25.5
Urban-Rural Sociology	27	11	26.5	17.5	29.5	18	28.5	13.5	28.5	16	28	18.5	26	25.5
Leisure and Recreation	21	28.5	30.5	29	27	30	31.5	32	24.5	28.5	28	27	29.5	31
Social Ethics	21	17.5	29	29	29.5	31.5	27	30	30.5	25	28	30.5	28	28
Leadership	31.5	30.5	30.5	29	31.5	27	31.5	26	30.5	31.5	28	27	31	28
Political Sociology	22.5	28.5	32	31.5	31.5	28	26	27.5	32	31.5	31.5	24.5	32	31
Number of Colleges	51	47	267	71	289	145	149	69	194	87	59	31	205	76

TABLE 2—Continued

Course Groupings	Size of Student Body of College							
	0–499		500–999		1000–4999		5000 & Over	
	1942	1957	1942	1957	1942	1957	1942	1957
General Sociology	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.5	5
Social Problems	2	4	2	3	2	6	6	11
Marriage and the Family	3	3	3	2	3	3	4	6
Social Work	7	6.5	4	5	6	5	1.5	15
Criminology	4	5	5	4	5	4	7	3
Research Methods	10	14	6	18.5	4	14.5	3	14
Social Psychology	5.5	9	7	8	9.5	9	5	2
Rural Sociology	5.5	11	8	11	9.5	9	5	2
Anthropology	8	6.5	9.5	6	7.5	1	9	1
Social Theory	10	8	11	9.5	7.5	8	10	4
Race and Ethnic Groups	10	10	9.5	9.5	14	7	14.5	12
Urban Sociology	12	12	12	12	11	16	16	18
Public Welfare	16	15	13	19	15	18	12	22
Population Problems	14	19.5	15	13	13	11	14.5	13
Social Processes	23.5	26	19	21.5	12	20	13	9
Child Welfare	16	19.5	18	25	16	24	20	26.5
"Deviants"	18.5	2	22.5	7	18	10	11	10
Community Organization	20.5	17	14	21.5	17	17	21	21
Economic Sociology	16	17	17	14	19	14.5	23	8
Educational Sociology	13	23	21	18	20	22	25	24
Social Movements	18.5	21	16	23	21	23	19	20
Social Organization	20.5	17	20	16.5	22	12	18	7
Statistics	23.5	22	22.5	19.5	23	21	17	17
Social History	29	28	24.5	30	24	30.5	24	—
Social Geography	25	26	29	27	28.5	—	22	31
Social Science Orientation	22	24	29	25	26	26	31.5	26.5
Religion	27	26	26	25	28.5	25	26.5	23
Urban-Rural Sociology	26	13	24.5	15	31	19	30	19
Leisure and Recreation	30.5	—	27	30	26	30.5	29	26.5
Social Ethics	28	29.5	32	28	26	27.5	31.5	29.5
Leadership	32	29.5	31	—	30	27.5	28	29.5
Political Sociology	30.5	—	29	30	32	29	26.5	26.5
Number of Colleges	—	85	—	64	—	83	—	31

"increasingly important role" to indicate a proportionate increase (of course, there are other legitimate interpretations), this claim has not been demonstrated.

AN ALTERNATIVE CLASSIFICATION

As the Kennedys were dissatisfied with earlier classifications of sociology courses,[9] so we were not content with their categories. "The existing classifications do not agree among themselves," they wrote, adding that they wished to "suggest a new grouping of courses, more meticulous than any of the preceding ones and more directly derived from titles and descriptions given in the college catalogues."[10] The editors of the *Review* described the Kennedy categories as a "logical classification of sociology courses."[11]

[9] Found, e.g., in George A. Lundberg *et al.*, *Trends in American Sociology*, New York: Harper, 1929; Floyd N. House, *The Development of Sociology*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936; L. L. Bernard, "The Teaching of Sociology in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, 15 (July, 1909), pp. 164–213; F. S. Chapin, "Report on Questionnaire of Committee on Teaching," *American Journal of Sociology*, 16 (May, 1911), pp. 774–793; F. L. Tolman, "The Study of Sociology in the Institutions of Learning in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, 7 (May, 1902), pp. 797–838.

[10] Kennedy and Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 665.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 661.

Our classification presented in Table 3 is not a logical one. In certain subject areas, we are meticulous, more so than the frequency distributions warrant (for example, in specifying the "institutional sociology" courses, such as "stratification"). In other areas, our categories are very broad (for example, "social work courses" include a wide range of specialized subject

TABLE 3. COMPARISON OF DISTRIBUTIONS OF SOCIOLOGY COURSES OPEN TO UNDERGRADUATE AND GRADUATE STUDENTS, 1957

	Sociology Courses Open To				
	Undergraduates		Graduates		
Subject Groups	Number of Courses	Per Cent	Number of Courses	Per Cent	Percentage Difference
Introductory	344	9.1	7	0.5	8.6
Tools of the Trade	365	9.7	285	21.9	—12.2
Theory	204		111		
Research Methods	101		121		
Statistics	60		53		
Institutional Sociology	203	5.4	127	9.8	— 4.4
Soc. Instit. & Soc. Org.	91		50		
Social Stratification	22		27		
Economic Sociology	18		16		
Political Sociology	9		10		
Sociology of Religion	24		13		
Educational Sociology	39		11		
Soc. Processes & Soc. Psych.	342	9.1	233	17.9	— 8.8
Social Change	28		19		
Social Control	39		22		
Social Movements	39		15		
Collective Behavior	32		25		
Small Groups	16		29		
Communications	48		51		
Social Psychology	140		82		
Community & Regional Soc.	330	8.8	86	6.6	2.2
Rural Sociology	124		31		
Urban Sociology	116		15		
Community	68		28		
Regional Sociology	22		12		
Anthropology	483	11.6	220	16.9	— 5.3
General & Introductory Anthro.	82		5		
Physical Anthro. & Archeo.	43		26		
Personality & Culture	31		11		
Other Anthropology	282		178		
Social Problems	523	13.9	107	8.2	5.7
Social Problems, in General	224		15		
Juvenile Delinquency	81		18		
Criminology & Penology	190		56		
Other Specific Problems	28		18		
Applications	562	14.9	113	8.7	6.2
Ethnic Relations & Problems	174		34		
Indust.—Labor Relat. & Problems	92		28		
Marriage, Family & Youth	296		51		
Demography and/or Pop. Probs.	124	3.3	57	4.4	— 1.1
Social Welfare & Reform	495	13.2	60	4.6	8.6
Social Reform & Legislation	33		1		
Public and Child Welfare	72		2		
Social Work	230		17		
Community Organization	61		30		
Personal Development	99		10		
Miscellaneous	37	1.0	7	0.5	0.5
The Teaching of Sociology	22		4		
Others (Art, Lit., Nurses	15		3		
Number of Courses	3763	100.0	1302	100.0	
Number of Colleges	263		23		

matter—case work, group work, field work, and so forth). However, we believe the categories to be useful, providing a fairly accurate summation of what is taught in sociology and joint sociology and anthropology departments.[12] The categories no doubt reflect our biases.[13]

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[12] With the procedure we used, the summation can be only fairly accurate. An enumeration dependent upon course titles and course descriptions gives imprecise information on what is offered, how often it is offered, and the number of sections or enrollees. It is an inexpensive procedure, however, providing a basis for general estimates.

[13] Thus the categories include:

Introductory: This includes introductory courses, whatever their titles, but omits social problems courses which students in some schools take before the introductory course in the sociological discipline.

Tools of the Trade: While various courses include *some* theoretical, methodological, and statistical material, this category includes only those ***primarily*** devoted to such subject matter.

Institutional Sociology: The sub-heading "social institutions" in this classification includes courses concerned with the institutions of American society. Courses in bureaucracy are included under the sub-heading "social organization." The sociology of occupations and professions is listed under "economic sociology." For reasons offered below, courses in minority groups are excluded from the sub-heading "social stratification," those concerning industrial and labor relations are excluded from "economic sociology," and courses in marriage and the family are excluded from the general category itself.

Social Processes and Social Psychology: Courses in public opinion and propaganda are included in the sub-heading "communications."

Community and Regional Sociology: Those courses which combine rural and urban sociology are included under the sub-heading "community."

Anthropology: For reasons discussed in the text, in joint departments of anthropology and sociology all anthropology courses are counted. While courses in physical anthropology and archeology legitimately may be classified as non-sociological, to distinguish between sociological and anthropological priorities in other fields proved to be too difficult a task. For example, whether specific area courses ("the social structure of . . .," "the family system in . . .") are anthropology or sociology could not be determined from the course descriptions. They were all coded as anthropology.

Social Problems: Included under the sub-heading "social problems, in general" are courses concerning problems of American society, social pathology, and social disorganization.

Applications: There are some subject areas—ethnic (minority, inter-group, race) relations, industrial and labor relations, marriage and family, and the sociology of childhood and youth—which, on the basis of most of the course descriptions, we could not classify as "Institutional Sociology," "Social Processes and Social Psychology," or "Social Problems," although elements of all three are included in the course description. Appearing to be attempts to apply the sociological discipline, and thus unlike "Social Welfare and Reform," these courses required a separate category.

Demography and/or Population Problems: In most cases, it was impossible to distinguish between courses in which population characteristics and trends are studied and those concerned with problems resulting from demographic phenomena. One category was created for both.

Social Welfare and Reform: If we assume that the first six categories in Table 3 are less value-laden than the three "problem" categories which follow, this category is the most value-laden of all and, perhaps, utilizes the sociological discipline least of all. Included under the sub-heading "social work" are courses in case, group, guidance, and personnel work, and field project-agency participation courses. Under the sub-heading "community organization" are courses in community planning, housing, and recreation.

These courses, having a utilitarian focus, entail certain value judgments. They may be helpful to the student vocationally. There are other sociology courses, utilitarian in focus and supposedly helpful to the student, but aimed at his personal, rather than vocational, development. They, too, are value-laden, with the biases sometimes explicitly stated and sometimes implicit (and possibly unrecognized); the former is illustrated by a course in "Human Relations," with the stated aims "to acquaint the student . . . of the responsibilities of the cultured individual in society, and to provide a Christian perspective regarding the problems of marriage and home building." The following courses were included under the sub-heading "personal development, implicit biases": "Social Behavior" (". . . an attempt to train teachers, parents, and social workers to help persons to enjoy a sane social life"), "Family Living" ("A course without prerequisites . . . to help [students] attain knowledge, values and skills with respect to dating, courtship, mate selection, engagement, marriage, parenthood, and family life"), "Sociological Techniques of Counseling" ("It aims in training persons to help those with problems achieve more desirable goals"), "Courtship and Marriage" ("A practical guide to successful family life"), "Effective Community Living," "Cultural Foundations" ("A survey of the cultural heritage of the race of the best of music, art, ancient literature, and other appreciations"), "Social Development of Emotionally Healthy Children and Youth," "Successful Marriage," "Preparation for Marriage," "Personal Adjustment," and "Mental Health."

The number of personal development courses in Table III is conservative: only the most blatant cases were included under these sub-headings. The Kennedys, after noting a sprinkling of such courses in the 1942 survey, wrote: "The sociology sections of American college catalogues make really exciting reading" (*op. cit.*, p. 671). Fifteen years later, we state our agreement and add, "especially for sociologists."

TABLE 4. COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COURSE GROUPINGS OF SOCIOLOGY COURSES OPEN TO UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS BY HIGHEST DEGREE LEVEL, SEX OF STUDENT BODY, SPONSORSHIP, LOCATION, AND SIZE OF STUDENT BODY OF COLLEGE, 1957

Subject Groupings	Highest Degree Level of College		Sex of Student Body of College			Sponsorship of College			
	Bachelor's	Master's Doctor's	Men	Women	Coed	Protestant	Catholic	Private Nonsectarian	Public
Introductory	12.1	7.0	10.4	11.8	8.7	9.7	10.6	8.9	8.4
Tools of the Trade	9.2	10.1	10.4	11.8	9.4	7.7	13.4	12.0	8.3
Institutional Sociology	3.6	6.7	9.4	2.2	5.5	4.2	3.6	7.3	3.6
Social Processes & Social Psychology	7.2	10.5	11.9	6.0	9.3	7.2	6.7	10.9	10.0
Community & Regional Sociology	9.0	8.6	6.1	5.8	9.4	11.2	4.8	6.6	10.0
Anthropology	6.8	15.1	14.8	8.8	11.7	7.3	6.1	15.4	14.0
Social Problems	15.8	12.6	10.4	12.7	14.4	15.9	14.3	12.3	13.5
Applications	17.4	13.1	13.3	16.8	14.8	17.0	13.9	15.5	13.7
Demography &/or Population Problems	2.4	4.0	3.2	1.4	3.5	3.3	1.0	3.1	4.2
Social Welfare & Reform	15.0	11.8	10.1	22.0	12.2	14.9	24.6	7.4	11.4
Miscellaneous	1.5	0.5	0.0	0.7	1.1	1.6	1.0	0.6	0.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of courses	1564	2199	278	417	3068	886	524	861	1492
Number of colleges	151	112	25	39	199	71	47	61	84

TABLE 4—*Continued*

Subject Groupings	Location of College				Size of Student Body of College			
	Northeast	Middle West	Far West	South	0–499	500–999	1000–4999	5000 and Over
Introductory	10.1	8.3	8.3	9.8	12.7	12.4	8.5	5.2
Tools of the Trade	10.3	9.3	12.1	8.6	9.5	7.8	9.0	11.9
Institutional Sociology	7.7	4.8	5.1	4.5	3.1	4.6	5.8	7.2
Social Processes & Social Psychology	7.2	8.8	13.2	8.8	6.3	7.8	7.6	13.8
Community & Regional Sociology	4.8	9.4	7.6	11.5	10.0	9.5	8.5	7.8
Anthropology	13.1	11.4	12.5	10.4	6.7	7.5	11.9	17.6
Social Problems	14.2	13.4	12.8	14.7	15.8	16.9	13.7	10.7
Applications	14.4	15.6	11.5	16.3	16.2	16.4	15.7	12.1
Demography &/or Population Problems	2.8	3.5	3.0	3.6	1.6	2.4	3.7	4.7
Social Welfare & Reform	14.7	13.9	13.0	11.3	16.5	13.8	14.5	8.6
Miscellaneous	0.7	1.6	0.9	0.5	1.6	0.9	1.1	0.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of courses	830	1251	554	1128	777	676	1266	1044
Number of colleges	69	87	31	76	85	64	83	31

The 1957 Distribution

There are 3763 courses open to undergraduate students listed in the 263 catalogues in our sample. "Applications" is the most frequently cited subject matter, closely followed by "Social Problems" and "Social Welfare and Reform;" together they account for 42 per cent of all undergraduate sociology courses. "Anthropology," "Tools of the Trade," "Introductory," "Social Processes and Social Psychology," and "Community and Religional Sociology" follow in that order, comprising 36.7 per cent of the total. "Institutional Sociology" and "Demography and/or Population Problems" trail far behind.

No publishers and probably few textbook writers would be surprised by this rank order. With some exceptions, it appears that the further removed is the subject matter from the discipline of sociology, as it is defined in the first chapter of most introductory texts (where such topics as "science" and "value judgments" are discussed), the more courses are offered by departments of sociology.

Graduate Versus Undergraduate Distributions

The 1942 and 1957 studies are concerned with what sociologists teach. Let us compare what they learn in graduate school with what they are expected to teach. To obtain some indication of the subject matter of graduate training, the latest catalogues of all universities that have granted fifteen or more doctorates since 1948 were collected. There were twenty-three such schools. The graduate courses and undergraduate courses open to graduate students in sociology departments were coded and counted; the distribution is recorded in Table 3. The first column of Table 3—what sociologists learn, and the second column—what they teach, may be compared, keeping in mind, however, important reservations. Obviously, elective courses are only one source from which graduate students learn their discipline. At the same time, in our figures, which include courses open to both graduate and undergraduate students, the differences in the two distributions are conservative.

What are the differences? The last column of Table 3 shows that there are some subject groupings in which the proportion of graduate courses exceeds that of undergraduate courses, and others in which the opposite is the case. It appears that the more value-laden the course content, the more undergraduate offerings exceed graduate offerings, with the understandable exception of introductory sociology.

In part, course offerings are expressions of the interests of the professors who teach them. In part, they indicate attempts to cater to student demand in an effort to increase enrollment: undergraduate students are among the arbiters of the subject matter to be taught. Because teachers are recruited largely in terms of departmental offerings (the successful applicant's interests and preparation usually are consistent with course offerings and student demand) and because, in some measure, the discipline develops along the lines of teachers' interests future developments in sociology may be influenced by the preferences of undergraduates.

In the main, graduate faculties are concerned with subject matter that shows negative percentage differences in the last column of Table 3, while undergraduate departments are staffed to a greater extent with sociologists whose major interests are in areas showing positive percentage differences or representatives of other fields, such as social workers. An interesting study would be the adaptation of young sociologists, fresh from graduate school, to the working conditions and intellectual environment of undergraduate departments in which the senior professors and chairmen are non-sociologists, or sociologists with value-laden specializations. Table 4, showing a comparison of the percentage distribution of course groupings in sociology open to undergraduate students (according to highest degree level, sex of student body, sponsorship, location, and size of student body of colleges) gives some indication of the kinds of institutions in which this situation is more likely to occur.

ON "THE CERTIFICATION OF ACADEMIC PROFESSIONS": AN EXCHANGE

A Reply to Dr. Borgatta

Theodore M. Newcomb
University of Michigan

Dr. Borgatta seems to be saying * that he understands psychologists much better than they understand themselves or each other; and that this special knowledge permits him to see that, in working for state certification laws, they have been deluding themselves—both because they

* In "The Certification of Academic Professions: The Case of Psychology," *American Sociological Review* 23 (June, 1958), pp. 302–306. Dr. Newcomb's commentary and Dr. Borgatta's reply, below, were written at my suggestion. I am sure that readers join me in appreciation of these contributions to the clarification of an important professional issue.—*The Editor.*

have rationalized crass motives by assuming a noble posture and because they have, whether they knew it or not, moved toward putting all of an academic profession into a straightjacket. In view of the overlapping functions of some psychologists and some sociologists, he sees the same restrictive consequences as inevitably affecting sociologists. His antidote for this threat to academic freedom appears to be a public chastisement of psychologists, who need to be persuaded to undo what they have done and to sin no more. If this interpretation of his paper is in error, then the following comments will at least give Dr. Borgatta an opportunity to correct me, together with others who have made similar interpretations.

I wish he had shown as much concern for the objective problems to which the psychologists' alleged misbehavior was an attempted solution as to that behavior itself; treatment of symptoms alone is rarely very rewarding. I wish he had shown some awareness of the long series of trial-and-error solutions considered and/or attempted over many years by many scores of psychologists (at least some of whom have as much wisdom and social concern as he does); oversimplification of exceedingly complex problems can serve no purpose but polemical ones. And I wish he had chosen the alternative (harder but more fruitful than public chastisement) of seeking a constructive solution to a problem the present state of which very few psychologists are satisfied with. What should workaday psychologists, concerned *both* about their own status and about the protection of the public—his wording is ". . . to create special privileges for a group *rather than* to serve the avowed purpose of protecting the public" (my italics)—be doing about their concerns, and how should sociologists work with them on what is admittedly a common problem?

As one who has something to do with the sociological training of social psychologists, I too am concerned about the possibility that some sociologists may be unduly restricted by existing or future legislation. I differ from Dr. Borgatta, apparently, in thinking that these problems can be met while also meeting the problems of charlatanism. One approach—and not an untried one—is to see to it that sociologically trained social psychologists also have some training in psychology. Dr. Borgatta almost seems to be saying just the opposite; he can almost be paraphrased as saying, "Sociologists *are* the real psychologists." He does in fact say, "Traditionally, the content of sociology (*and not psychology*) has included studies of social interaction, interpersonal relations . . . social perception, small group analysis, opinion and attitude research . . . ." (my italics). Either the italicized words are contrary to fact or I totally fail to understand their meaning. In either case they hardly serve as a cordial invitation to psychologists to seek a common solution to a common problem.

From a long-run point of view, those of us who are concerned with the effects upon sociologists of the certification of psychologists should also be concerned about the proper training of future social psychologists. The properly trained social psychologist of the future—whether or not he is also a sociologist—will have had training which includes psychology. If problems of the certification of psychologists are to be with us for some years, sociologists so trained can have a good deal of influence in determining what forms the certification should take. I see no belittling of the glorious tradition of Cooley, Ross, Thomas, and Mead in recognizing that what Dr. Borgatta believes has been "traditionally the content of sociology," is no longer (if it ever was) the sole property of sociology. We can take pride in a tradition—whose glory, incidentally, did not lie in the fact that it was not psychological—without insisting that it shall remain just as it was. We do not want social psychology without psychology any more than we want it without sociology. Social psychologists *with* psychology can adapt to, and can help to create, whatever conditions of legislation eventually prove wise and necessary. We can develop those conditions not by undifferentiated viewing-with-alarm, not by polemics directed against the very people whose help is needed to solve a problem, but only by collaborative efforts, one step at a time.

A Rejoinder to Dr. Newcomb

Edgar F. Borgatta

Russell Sage Foundation

Dr. Newcomb seems to be saying that psychologists should be understood, not criticized or chastized, because, right or wrong, they have had a ". . . long series of trial-and-error solutions considered and/or attempted over many years . . ." and, besides, they have ". . . as much wisdom and social concern. . ." as anyone else. Without doubt, we should be sympathetic to their problems, but unfortunately this commiseration does not alter an analysis of the consequences of certain types of legislation, with certification of the whole title of psychology, which restricts titles commonly shared with other disciplines. . . .

I wish Dr. Newcomb had chosen the alternative (harder, but more to the point) of indicating just why a title like "social psychologist"

should be certified. Some sociologists in this area (but this is a concern voiced in a number of other fields by psychologists) do not understand why their activities should be brought under the law. Aren't the activities of nuclear physicists, physiologists, chemists, and others equally critical when they act as consultants? Should the objective be certification of all critical titles by 1984? (Or sooner, under a crash program?)

Sociologists, who have some claim on the title social psychology, also have their own names for the fields they have included under the title, like ". . . social interaction, interpersonal relations, marriage and the family, role theory, socialization, social perception, small group analysis, opinion and attitude research, media and mass communication, collective behavior, industrial relations, and intergroup relations. . .," to repeat the quoted list in full. On these grounds, *sociologists do not try to restrict the title* and allow psychologists use of it only if they go through the process of being certified as sociologists *per se*. Rather, I interpret my conversations with [sociological social psychologists] as being very explicit on this point. They resent the implication that they must be certified as psychologists *per se* to be social psychologists, or that training of social psychologists must mean training as psychologists *per se*. Unfortunately, these are ultimate consequences of the certification of the whole title of psychology, and no grandfather clause can take these into account. Dr. Newcomb is trying to ram the shoe on the wrong foot when he suggests that anyone but those sponsoring the certification of the whole title are making claims of an area as being their "sole property."

The . . . fields mentioned above indicate the interest but also a provincialism in the sociological brand of social psychology. There is a similar list that can be written for psychology, and we all will recall the comparisons, both of concepts and quotations, that have been made of social psychology texts written by authors from the two fields . . . . just how is certification of the whole title of psychology supposed to accelerate the communications between psychology and sociology? To quote Dr. Newcomb, this can ". . . hardly serve as a cordial invitation . . . to seek a common solution to a common problem."

No doubt the problems that have been raised by certification of psychologists will be alleviated, but in the meantime certification is becoming an accomplished fact in many states. Prior to [August, 1958], the only state in which sociologists have been consulted is Michigan where, incidentally, the law has not been enacted and where, I gather, sociologists have not been ecstatic about the fruits of their discussions. When legislation is passed, the interests who sponsor it are already placed in a strategic position. There is good reason for alarm. Where a law such as that in New York State, rather than one certifying a specific title, has *already* been passed, it is like finding the overzealous partner who has placed the company funds in his own account to make sure that they are safe. In order not to misunderstand or embarrass, do we ignore that it has happened?

The proposed Michigan law and the existing New York law have often been advanced as "models." Both . . . are oriented to restriction of the *whole* title in the offering of services to the public for remuneration (with exemption of titles used in educational institutions and government). They do not certify or restrict practice, so that it should be understood that *the laws do not in any way restrict the actions of charlatans except in the use of the title.* As an assistant commissioner of the New York State Education Department writes, "The certification act does not prevent one from consulting or rendering psychological service." One may add, "Whatever that might be."

If the purpose is to make a title available that the public can recognize as designating certain training and experience, then it would seem that a title such as *Certified Psychologist* would be easiest to identify. It would also avoid all of the problems raised by restriction of the whole title. *Why*, if control of charlatans is the purpose of these laws, should they include all varieties of psychologists instead of being directed to the areas in which the problem exists? (Clinical psychology) Why need there be certification that involves fields like social psychology?

Certification laws can restrict a title like *Certified Psychologist*, or even better, *Certified Clinical Psychologist*, instead of the whole title. Most of the objection to this appears to be a presumed lack of dignity, questions of possible competitive interests between certified and noncertified psychologists, and the fact that charlatans would be able to use the title of psychologist in other forms. The first argument is irrelevant to the citizen, the second might actually be in his interest, and charlatans restricted from use of one set of titles merely seek out another euphemistic set.

There is an argument about certification that never seems to be answered. If the profession really has something unique as a field of practice to contribute, why doesn't it name it and then restrict the practice? The answer that the profession is in its infancy, needs to be sheltered, . . . is a peculiar one. What is the purpose of

certifying a title that corresponds to a nebulous and intangible entity? Isn't this premature, and isn't it particularly premature when certification is directed to the whole title?

As an example of the view of "psychologists" . . ., it is of interest to observe the lead paragraph in the April, 1958 issue of the *New York State Psychologist*, the official organ of the New York State Psychological Association, Inc., in an article about a legal challenge to the certification law in that state.

> Legal recognition of psychology as a profession has been one of the major objectives of psychologists in this state for ten or more years. Literally thousands of dollars and countless hours have been devoted to this project. In April, 1956 the goal was finally attained. Certainly there is no need at this time to list the many present and future benefits that are inevitably part of the certification act. Suffice it to say that the status of psychology, of conditions of employment, and of our public relations already reflect the advantages that come from having legal status. Obviously, then, any activity that might jeopardize the certification act must be considered *inimical* to the best interests of the profession.

This presents an interesting view of the legislation. First of all, legal recognition of psychology as a profession may have been one of the major objectives of *some* psychologists in New York State, but certainly not all. . . . The fact that "literally thousands of dollars and countless hours" were devoted to this project by some persons seems entirely irrelevant as to whether the law is a good one or not. The fact that numbers in the profession are in a position to profit by the act does not mean that the act is in the best interests of the public or in the best interests of the profession. Furthermore, this statement obviously suggests that any minority opinion contrary to certification and the privileges that it affords to psychologists is working against the best interests of the profession. This hardly represents a spirit of free academic discussion, or the tradition of open public discussion of legislation for the benefit and education of the citizenry.

THE VIEWS OF SOCIOLOGISTS ON PLANS FOR THE 1960 CENSUS *

DUDLEY KIRK
Population Council

The largest single source of sociological data available to American sociologists is the decennial census of the United States. Though the censuses have been in part designed to furnish sociological information, sociologists as a professional group have exercised little influence on the planning, tabulation, or publication of census data.

Individual sociologists in advisory and administrative capacities have of course influenced the character of the census on many specific points. In particular, the senior members of the Census staff, a number of whom are sociologists, have done much to make the censuses useful for sociological research, a service perhaps not always fully understood or appreciated by their academic colleagues. But sociologists have generally been forced to use census data collected primarily for purposes other than sociological research. The sociological profession has had a faint voice indeed as compared to that of business and other interest groups in advising the Census Bureau of its needs.

One of the problems has been the lack of information on what members of the profession need and want. A second difficulty has been organization—how to marshal and make effective the wishes of the membership. An effort to meet these difficulties has been made in connection with the 1960 census.

In November, 1957 a questionnaire on proposals for the 1960 census was mailed to all Active Members of the American Sociological Society with mailing addresses in the United States. The results of this survey have been used to present the views of the Society through its representative on the Council of Census Users, and a full written report was transmitted to the Director of the Census in February, 1958 on the basis of returns received up to that time. These activities are described more fully in the official reports of the Committee on Social Statistics and of the representative to the Council of Census Users presented in the December, 1958 issue of the *Review*. What follows is a final report on the results of the survey.

The survey was conducted through a mail questionnaire drafted by the Social Statistics Committee of the Society on the basis of issues under consideration by the Census Bureau in the fall of 1957. The taking of a decennial census is a very large operation with a budget of over one hundred million dollars. Preparations are undertaken years in advance and basic decisions concerning the content of the census and the form of questions are frozen long before the actual enumeration. The questionnaire

* Report of a survey of the membership of the American Sociological Society conducted by its Social Statistics Committee. The members of this Committee in 1957–58 were: Donald Bogue, Hope T. Eldridge, Abram Jaffe, Philip M. Hauser, Daniel O. Price, Stuart Rice, and Dudley Kirk, Chairman. The Chairman is solely responsible for the present report.

was scheduled in the hope of bringing the views of the membership to bear at a time when the relevant decisions were being made. In order to hold the questionnaire to a reasonable length it was also necessary to confine the questions to a relatively few issues of particular interest to sociologists and on which their views might be expected to carry some weight.

The questionnaire was sent to approximately 2200 Active Members of the Society. Replies were received from 1298 members or about 60 per cent of those to whom questionnaires were mailed. A total of 1023 returned completed questionnaires, the other respondents having chosen the option to indicate that they seldom use or, in any case, have no views on its technical aspects. A widespread interest of sociologists in the Census is suggested by the large returns and by the large percentage of those replying who took the trouble to fill out the questionnaire. A further indication of interest was the surprisingly large number of respondents (587) who indicated their wish to receive a copy of a very detailed inquiry prepared by the Census Bureau to solicit advice on specific tabulation plans.

The substantive replies to the questionnaire indicate the following views of the membership of the Society:

1. Strong endorsement of a proposed revision of the residential classification to substitute where possible a basic distinction between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas for the historical distinction between urban and rural areas.
2. Strong opinion in favor of a census question on religion.
3. A tendency to favor less emphasis than in the 1950 census on inquiries relating to employment, occupation, and industry and, by implication, endorsement of the plan to obtain information on these topics from a sample rather than the total population.
4. Strong endorsement of the proposal to omit questions on veteran status.
5. Of several proposed new subjects the following order of priority in terms of usefulness to the respondents in their professional activities:
   (1) *Length of residence in present place*—over half (547) list this item as "very much needed" and a cumulative total of 946 (93 per cent) as at least "useful;"
   (2) *Religion*—480 list as "very much needed" and a total of 884 (87 per cent) as at least "useful;"
   (3) *Journey to work in metropolitan areas*—313 list as "very much needed" and a total of 793 (78 per cent) as at least "useful;"
   (4) *Mother tongue*—285 list as "very much needed" and a total of 794 (78 per cent) as at least "useful;" and
   (5) *Date of birth*—(in addition to age at last birthday)—134 list as "very much needed" and 529 (52 per cent) as at least "useful."
6. Preference for the 1950 question on duration of *current* marital status (for all persons ever married) over the suggested question on age at *first* marriage for all women ever married.

There follows a more detailed analysis of the results presenting the text of the questions (though not the explanations of issues given in the questionnaire), tabulations of replies, summaries of comments, and decisions of the Census Bureau with reference to the questions at issue.

"Question One: A new residential classification has been proposed for the 1960 census because of the relative decline of farm population and great increase of urban and suburban populations and their expansion into rural areas. Do you favor the proposed new classification, the 1950 classification or another classification [1] (if last, please specify on back of page)?"

	No.	Per Cent
(1) Proposed 1960	705	69
(2) 1950	168	17
(3) Other	35	3
(4) No opinion	115	11
	1023	100

This question evoked long supplementary comments, most of which centered around the problem of maintaining comparability from one census to another. Many suggestions were offered on how best to combine the advantages of the historical rural-urban classification and the proposed new system. Attention was called to a serious administrative difficulty in attempting a new system of residential classification in that related statistics (for example, vital statistics) also would have to be collected according to the new system or the change would result in serious discontinuities.

The Census Bureau now plans to retain the basic rural-urban classification in 1960 but to supplement this with a number of important tabulations in terms of a basic division between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas.

"Question Two: Do you favor a question on religion on a sample basis in the 1960 census?"

	No.	Per Cent
(1) Yes	888	86
(2) No	120	12
(3) No opinion	20	2
	1028	100

Stronger opinions and more numerous comments were expressed on this than on any other question. Several persons replied only to this question, and judging by the number of comments, the views of the membership are more clearly formulated on this issue than on any

[1] The proposed 1960 classification (based on division between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas) and the 1950 classification (based on the traditional division between rural and urban areas) was elaborated in the text of the questionnaire.

other presented. Such unprofessional language as "ridiculous," "idiotic," and "senseless" appear frequently in volunteered marginal comments. The prevailing views in the comments are: (1) that religious data are very much needed and would greatly advance sociological analysis in many fields; (2) that no issue of civil liberties is involved if the anonymity of replies is assured; and (3) that as a special precaution it would be desirable to change the enabling legislation to make the reply to the proposed question on religion a voluntary matter.

The Census Bureau has announced that it will not include a question on religion in the 1960 census. The public announcement to this effect stated that the decision did not preclude inclusion of a question on religion in future censuses or in the current population surveys conducted by the Bureau.

"Question Three: Do you favor more, less or the present emphasis on census inquiries relating to employment, occupation, and industry?"

	No.	Per Cent
(1) More	181	18
(2) Same	252	24
(3) Less	468	46
(4) No opinion	122	12
	1023	100

Many comments specifically endorsed the suggestion that information on these topics should be obtained from a sample rather than from the total population as has been the practice in past censuses. There appears to be some feeling among the membership that a reduction in the number of economic questions included in the full enumeration would lead to simpler and faster tabulations and should permit expansion of the census in other at least equally useful directions.

The Census Bureau now plans to include questions on the above topics in the 1960 census only on a sample basis.

"Question Four: Do you favor continuing questions on veteran status in 1960 as in the 1950 census?"

	No.	Per Cent
(1) Yes	103	10
(2) No	748	73
(3) No opinion	172	17
	1023	100

The relatively few comments on this question generally parallel the following quotation from one respondent: "This is a waste of time and money. Veterans are just people and deserve no preferential consideration." A minority of the respondents believed that the solution of the problem is to make the questions more meaningful.

The Census Bureau now plans to continue questions on veteran status in the 1960 census.

"Question Five: A number of new subjects have been proposed by social scientists for inclusion in the 1960 census. Several under serious consideration are given below. Except for date of birth each of these could be asked only on a sample basis. Please indicate your needs for each in your work."

(a) Date of birth (in addition to age at last birthday)

	No.	Per Cent
(1) Very much needed	134	13
(2) Useful	395	39
(3) No need	363	35
(4) No opinion	131	13
	1023	100

(b) Journey to work (in metropolitan areas only)

	No.	Per Cent
(1) Very much needed	323	32
(2) Useful	470	46
(3) No need	148	14
(4) No opinion	82	8
	1023	100

(c) Length of residence in present place

	No.	Per Cent
(1) Very much needed	547	54
(2) Useful	399	39
(3) No need	25	2
(4) No opinion	52	5
	1023	100

(d) Mother tongue	No.	Per Cent
(1) Very much needed	285	28
(2) Useful	509	50
(3) No need	163	16
(4) No opinion	66	6
	1023	100

(e) Religion	No.	Per Cent
(1) Very much needed	480	47
(2) Useful	404	40
(3) No need	83	8
(4) No opinion	56	5
	1023	100

The Census Bureau plans to include questions relating to the first three items (a, b, and c) on the 1960 census. The question on age to be included in the 1960 census schedule refers to date of birth, but where this information is not readily forthcoming provision is made to enter age at last birthday. Information on journey to work in metropolitan areas and on length of residence in present place are to be included on a sample basis.

The Census Bureau has decided not to re-

vive the question on mother tongue which was included in previous censuses but dropped in 1950 because of the decline in the number of foreign born. As noted above, it has been decided not to include a question on religion.

"Question Six: Which of the following questions on duration of marital status would you prefer?

(a) The 1950 question on duration of *current* marital status for all persons ever married (i.e. How many years since the person was *last* married, widowed, divorced or separated)?

(b) A question on age at *first* marriage for all women ever married?"

	No.	Per Cent
(1) Favor (a)	349	34
(2) Favor (b)	242	24
(3) Favor both	157	15
(4) No opinion	275	27
	1023	100

The large figure for "no opinion" seems to reflect confusion or lack of interest on the part of the membership as to the relative merits of the two possibilities.

The Census Bureau expects to adopt alternative (b) in the 1960 census.

"Question Seven: Would you like to have Census 'Questionnaire on Areas for Users of Census Data?'"

Yes	587	57 (per cent)

The names and addresses of those answering affirmatively were forwarded to the Census Bureau. Some 250 completed the detailed Census Bureau questionnaire and returned it. The Bureau has made a full tabulation of the responses thus received from sociologists and has given this weight in preparing its tabulation plans. The reports are too complicated to be presented here, since they involve judgments on the relative value of data for 18 population characteristics in each of 22 types of areal units.

"Question Eight: Please indicate any particular needs for data (not covered above) that were unavailable from the 1950 census but which you think could reasonably be provided by changes in the 1960 census."

In reply to this invitation a total of 223 respondents volunteered suggestions of greatly varied scope and practicability. A number of proposals asked for the inclusion of questions and data already available in the census, thus suggesting some lack of acquaintance with existing census publications. Numerous others asked for questions on attitudes or requiring a complexity of response that would be impractical to include in a decennial census. Some of these proposals may be appropriate for inclusion in the Current Population Surveys and other sample inquiries where it is possible to focus on particular subjects in greater depth.

The majority of the suggestions refer to the needs for more data on three general subjects: mobility and migration, race, and marital status. The need for better materials for measuring and studying internal migration was very frequently expressed and there were many requests for data on such topics as daytime location of the population, migration by type and size of community, and the interrelation of mobility, occupational status, education, etc. Many others indicate a need for more data on race, first in terms of better and more detailed reporting of the so-called "minor races" and, second, for more cross-classification of race with occupation, industry, and education. Interest was frequently expressed in more clearly defined classifications of marital status so as to enable special studies of the numbers and characteristics of the divorced, of the separated, and of persons married more than once.

It should be noted that the Census Bureau received direct orders for over a thousand copies of its publications from the sociologists replying to its detailed questionnaire. The survey thus seems to have served the double purpose of advising the Census Bureau of the views and needs of sociologists and of stimulating sociologists to give more attention to the possible uses of the census in their professional activities.

THE "PRIMO CONGRESSO NAZIONALE DI SCIENZE SOCIALI"

RENATO TAGIURI
Harvard University

The newly formed Associazione Italiana di Scienze Sociali, in conjunction with the Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale held the First National Congress of Social Sciences at the Palazzo Serbelloni-Cabiati in Milan on May 31–June 2, 1958.

The Association was formed in 1957 in response to a felt need for an organization that would facilitate contact among all those who, in various scientific disciplines, concern themselves with the study of society, with special regard to contemporary Italian society and culture.

The Congress was divided into two distinct parts. The first—theoretical—on the Integrazione delle Scienze Sociali, considered the premises of the various social sciences and the problem of their interdependence. The second part—applied—on "City and Farm

Areas," dealt with the specific problem of the relation between urban and rural populations, and with research already completed.

The proceedings themselves consisted of presentations of short summaries of papers that had been printed and gathered in a large volume before the Congress began. Discussion of the papers took the greater part of the time. This procedure made it possible both to study papers carefully and to enable substantial contributions to the discussion.

Speakers and discussants in the first part of the program addressed themselves to the problem of definition and interdependence of the various social sciences and their connections with philosophy. Considerable interest was shown in breaking away from the traditional academic boundaries and a genuine effort was made to search for a more fruitful approach. The debate centered, as was to be expected, upon the question of whether "complementarity" or "integration" (fusion) of the disciplines would yield better results. Also discussed at length were the relations of the social sciences to ethics and to philosophy. One of the speakers pointed out that "it seems no longer true that philosophy *tells* the social sciences what *should* be done."

The proceedings of the Congress, and papers that were unfinished before the Congress will shortly be published in a second volume.

The Congress was attended by a large number of people from Italy and other countries, prominent in such fields as sociology, social anthropology, social psychology, economics, jurisprudence, social medicine, and philosophy.

The President of the Association is Professor Renato Treves of the University of Milan. Professor Tullio Tentori of the University of Rome and Director of the Museo delle Arti e Tradizioni Popolari of Rome is National Secretary.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

CLARENCE HENRY SCHETTLER 1905–1958

In the sudden death of Clarence Henry Schettler on May 29, 1958, the students of Duke University have lost one of their most effective and respected teachers, and his faculty colleagues one of their most cooperative colleagues and cherished friends.

It is difficult to write of him now in a manner appropriate to the modesty and humility of his life. Yet to his colleagues his death is an irreparable personal loss. He was always willing to bear more than his share of the routine and drudgery of Departmental and University administration, and his contributions to the development of its educational program in many fields was wise, far-reaching, and significant.

Among his students he will be remembered for the stimulation of his teaching and the warmth and sincerity of his friendship. He possessed an exceptional facility for logical and lucid exposition, and for identification with the intimate personal problems and aspirations of his students. He impressed them above all as their friend and co-learner; as Director of Undergraduate Studies for the Department of Sociology and Anthropology he became the most widely known, admired, and loved member of its staff on the campus.

Dr. Schettler's chief research interests lay in the field of social psychology, especially with relation to public opinion and social movements. He had completed and dispatched to the publishers the manuscript of a book on *Public Opinion in American Society* only two days before his death, and was engaged in writing another major work on social psychology, which remains uncompleted. It is hoped that at least some of this material may eventually be published.

Clarence Schettler was held in equal esteem by the people of the city in which he lived. As a citizen he rendered distinguished service to the community in the field of social action. Shortly after coming to Durham he undertook the sociological research basic to the demarcation of homogeneous census tracts, and was successful in securing their adoption by the Federal Bureau of the Census. He was co-founder, member, or chairman of a number of the city's social agencies, and served a term as President of the Durham Community Planning Council.

Dr. Schettler was born in St. Louis,

Missouri, on January 7, 1905. He was graduated from the University of Missouri with the degrees of A.B. in 1926 and A.M. in 1927, and received his doctorate from the University of Chicago in 1936. Before his appointment as Associate Professor of Sociology in Duke University in 1946 he held teaching appointments at Oklahoma, Temple, and Western Reserve Universities, and during the war served as sociological consultant to the Office of Price Administration and the Federal Housing Administration. He was married to Miss Vera Thompson, of Walla Walla, Washington, in 1936, who, with two sons, Karl and Paul, survives him.

HOWARD B. JENSEN
Duke University

FRED EMORY HAYNES
1868–1958

Fred Emory Haynes, pioneer sociologist in the Midwest and Professor Emeritus at the State University of Iowa, died on August 4, 1958. His life span embraces the history of sociology in the United States and reflects many of the trends in the discipline, particularly those related to social problems and professional social work.

Born in Marlboro, Massachusetts, Fred Haynes attended Chauncy Hall School in Boston and Harvard, being awarded the A.B., Summa Cum Laude, in 1889, the M.A. in 1890, and the Ph.D. in 1891. At Harvard, he was especially influenced by F. W. Taussig and A. B. Hart; at the University of Berlin, where he continued his studies in history and economics, by Schmoller, Treitschke, and Wagner; and, subsequently at Cambridge, by Alfred Marshall, and in England, by the leaders of the Fabian Society, whom he knew, and by the social survey work of Charles Booth and his associates.

These influences were reflected in his extensive community activities and in his teaching at the University of California (Berkeley), 1892–1895, at Harvard, 1895–1900, at Morningside College in Sioux City, 1900–1914, and at the State University of Iowa, where he retired from full-time duties in 1939. His interests in reform politics and social problems are also indicated in such publications as *Third Party Movements in the United States* (1916), *Social Politics in the United States* (1924), *Criminology* (1930), and *American Prison Systems* (1939). Professor Haynes' work in the fields of crime, delinquency, and community welfare was persistent and fruitful, as suggested by the posthumous award given to him by the Iowa Welfare Association for his "outstanding contribution to the development of the Welfare program in Iowa." His colleagues and friends are planning to establish a research endowment in his honor, to be administered through the State University of Iowa Old Gold Development Fund.

HAROLD W. SAUNDERS
State University of Iowa

PAUL HURVEY PRICE
1919–1958

Dr. Paul H. Price, Professor of Sociology at Louisiana State University, died of a heart attack at his home in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, on September 13, 1958. Through his death sociology at Louisiana State University and throughout the nation loses an able, staunch, and diligent worker, and his many associates lose a warm, sympathetic, courageous, and reliable friend.

Dr. Price was born in Kentwood, Louisiana, on September 18, 1919, and received his early training in the public schools of that community. His undergraduate training was undertaken at Southeastern Louisiana College, where he obtained the B.A. degree in 1940. In 1940–41 he taught at Lyon High School in Covington, Louisiana, and in 1941–42 at Purvis High School in Hattiesburg, Mississippi. From 1942 to 1945 he served in the United States Air Forces. In 1946 and 1947 he was a graduate assistant in the Department of Sociology at Louisiana State University, from which he received the M.A. degree in 1947; and in 1947–48 he continued his graduate work at Vanderbilt University. The following academic year was spent in Brazil, on a Cordell Hull Fellowship from Vanderbilt, where he gathered material for his Ph.D. dissertation, dealing with the immigration of Poles and their assimilation in Brazil. His Ph.D. degree was awarded by Vanderbilt University in 1951.

In 1949 Dr. Price joined the faculty of Louisiana State University as Assistant Professor of Sociology and Assistant Rural Sociologist in the Louisiana State Agricultural Experiment Station. After his promotion to the Associate Professorship and at the beginning of what appeared to be his most productive period, and only shortly before his sudden death, he became Professor and Rural Sociologist.

Dr. Price had many professional interests, although he specialized in rural sociology, demography (including the problems of health and aging), Latin American peoples and institutions, and economic institutions. This is reflected in the titles of such of his works as *Modifying Dental Attitudes Through Community Programs* (1952), *The Availability of Medical Personnel in Rural Louisiana* (with Homer L. Hitt, 1951), *Health in Rural Louisiana at Mid-Century* (With Homer L. Hitt, 1954), *The Aged in Louisiana's Agriculture* (with Homer L. Hitt, 1955), "A Demographic Analysis of the Population of the State of São Paulo, Brazil" (with J. V. Freitas Marcondes), "Selected Aspects of Rural Transportation in Southern Brazil," and "Economic Problems" (in T. Lynn Smith *et al., Social Problems*).

In addition to his membership in the American Sociological Society, his professional affiliations included the Rural Sociological Society and the Southern Sociological Society. He also was an active participant in various regional and national conferences, and early in 1958 he himself was largely responsible for organizing and conducting the first Louisiana Conference on Aging. His willing and dependable efforts in such professional activities will be missed. Most of all he will be missed by members of the faculty and the students at Louisiana State University, who always found him willing to give generously of his time, perceptive and sympathetic about their problems and needs, and sound and constructive in his advice.

T. LYNN SMITH
University of Florida

American Sociological Society. The Committee on Relations with Sociologists in Other Countries has been charged by the Executive Committee of the Society with recommending a program to which visiting foreign sociologists can be invited. Chairmen of departments of sociology in institutions where foreign sociologists are visiting, or are residents of the local community, are asked to send their names, institutions of affiliation, and current addresses to Arnold M. Rose, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14, Minnesota.

The following foreign sociologists are already known to be visiting the United States: Roberto Agramonte (University of Havana, Cuba), 601 S. W. 6th Street, Miami, Florida; Johan Galtung (Head, Department for Statistics and Methodology, University of Oslo, Norway), Columbia University; Takeyoshi Kawashima (Professor, Sociology of Law, Tokyo University, Japan), Stanford University; Nurettin Sazi Kosemihal (Assistant Professor, Faculty of Letters, University of Istanbul, Turkey), University of North Carolina; Eligius G. M. Njisane (Lecturer, University of Natal, Durban, South Africa), Howard University; Naosaku Uchida (Professor, Oriental Economic History, Seijo University, Japan), Stanford University (September 1958-February 1959) and Cornell University (March to May 1959); Mrs. Gelia Castillo (Instructor in Sociology and Psychology, University of the Philippines, Laguna) Cornell University, Department of Rural Sociology, Warren Hall; Mrs. Virginia A. Paraiso (Office of National Planning, National Economic Council, University of the Philippines), c/o Governmental Affairs Institute, 1726 Massachusetts Avenue N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Institut International de Sociologie held its eighteenth biennial congress at Nürnberg, Germany, September 10-18, 1958. Attending were 295 participants, of which 221 were delegates from 31 countries. Hans Freyer, formerly of the University of Leipzig, but now in the West Zone, was president of this congress, and K. Valentin Muller, of Technical University, Nürnberg, and general secretary of IIS, was host.

International Conference on Social Work. More than 250 Americans met with delegates from all over the world to discuss common social welfare problems at the Ninth International Conference of Social Work in Tokyo from November 30 to December 6, 1958. A report of Conference proceedings will be made available. Inquiries should be addressed to the U. S. Committee, International Conference of Social Work, c/o National Social Welfare Assembly, 345 East 46 Street, New York 17, New York.

African-American Institute. Establishment of a United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program to further understanding between professional, business, and civic leaders has been announced by Frank S. Loescher, Director of the program. For further information concerning the exchange fellowships write to the Institute, 345 East 46 Street, New York 17.

Eastern Sociological Society. The 1959 Meeting of the Society will be held at the Hotel New Yorker, New York City, on April 11 and 12, 1959.

Members are invited to submit manuscripts of papers to the Chairman of the Committee on Papers, Jerome K. Myers, Department of Sociology, 306 Linsly Hall, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, as soon as possible.

Jewish Labor Committee. The Committee, with the aid of a grant from the William Green Memorial Fund, has established the William Green Human Relations Library at Atran Center, 25 East 78 Street, New York 21. The collection deals exclusively with the American trade union movement in relation to civil rights, human rights, and American minorities, and it and the services of the Library are extended to scholars, students, and labor people throughout the country.

Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health. Jack R. Ewalt, Professor of Psychiatry at Harvard Medical School and Massachusetts Mental Health Commissioner, has announced publication of *Current Concepts of Mental Health*, by Marie Jahoda. This is the first in a series of ten studies to be completed by the Commission as part of a three-year study of the nation's mental health, financed by grants from the National Institute of Mental Health and private groups.

Kommission für die Geschichte des Kirchenkampfes in der nationalsozialistischer Zeit. An international conference on the history of church struggle during the National Socialist period is to be held in Munich, August 17–20, 1959. The Commission hopes that American scholars will participate. Interested persons should communicate with Franklin H. Littell, Emory University, Emory University, Georgia.

National Science Foundation. Individual grants will be awarded to defray partial travel expenses for a limited number of American scientists participating in the International Sociological Association Congress, Milan, September 1959, and in the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, Vienna, August-September 1959. An attempt will be made to have the grants approximate round-trip air tourist fare between the scientist's home institution and the location of the meeting. Application blanks may be obtained from the Foundation, Washington 25, D. C. Completed application forms must be submitted by February 1, 1959.

The establishment of a Research Information Center and Advisory Service on Information Processing to be operated jointly by the Foundation and the National Bureau of Standards has been announced. Organizations and individuals engaged in research and development activities or planning programs may request further information about the new Service and the procedures to be followed in requesting advice or information by writing to the Research Information Center, Program for Documentation Research, National Science Foundation, Washington 25, D. C.

Roper Public Opinion Research Center. Since the Center was established at Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, on July 1, 1957, 42 additional university and commercial survey research organizations, both American and foreign, have decided to place the raw data of their past and current studies there. The Center's operating staff has been increased from three to ten, and George Gallup, Clyde Hart, James A. Linen, III, and Elmo C. Wilson have been added to the Board of Trustees.

During the past year, the Center has started two subscription services. Interested and accredited individuals and institutions may now purchase annual subscriptions to the item index and authorized data releases developed by the Center.

U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The Children's Bureau Clearinghouse for Research in Child Life announces that on the basis of its experience in publishing *Research Relating to Children*, the following changes in policy have been made: (1) The scope has been widened to cover the area of programs and services, in addition to child-centered research; consequently, reports of research on programs and services for children in the health and welfare fields are now being solicited. (2) The Clearinghouse is no longer soliciting reports of studies concerned principally with the physical aspects of disease or therapy. (3) Except where the work represents study beyond a doctorate, as in dentistry, theses at the master's level are no longer included. Inquiries and reports of research should be directed to the Clearinghouse for Research in Child Life, Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington 25, D. C.

Alvin L. Schorr has been appointed as Family Life Specialist on the staff of the Commissioner of Social Security, in the Division of Program Research. This position has been established to provide a focal point within the Social Security Administration for a re-examination of the impact of existing social security programs on family welfare and an assessment of steps that might be taken to further strengthen family life.

University of Alberta. Robert L. James has been promoted to Associate Professor of Sociology. He spent last summer as Visiting Lecturer in Sociology at Wayne State University. Samuel M. Strong, formerly of Carleton College, has joined the staff. He gave his second course in minority group relations last summer under the joint sponsorship of the University and the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews.

Analysis of the data from the recently completed Edmonton Senior Residents Survey is under way, and a special project under a university research grant investigating interviewer success and failure is in process.

Allegheny College. During the academic year 1957–58, Henry M. Muller, Chairman of the Department of Sociology, was on a leave of absence to participate in the Overseas Program of the University of Maryland, in which his assignments took him to Morocco and Munich. Acting Head

of the Department was a new appointee, Richard E. Hilbert, formerly of Albright College. Hilbert and Myrtle Korenbaum, from Brown University and the University of Paris, are continuing on the staff this year.

Brandeis University. A new program, the Florina Lasker Fellows in Civil Liberties and Civil Rights, has been established for the purpose of providing persons whose investigations are concerned with the preservation of civil liberties and civil rights with an opportunity to add depth and background to their work. Inquiries should be addressed to the Director of this program, Brandeis University, Waltham 54, Massachusetts.

The Department of Sociology, until recently part of a joint Department of Sociology and Anthropology, has been reorganized as a separate department. It now consists of Lewis A. Coser, Associate Professor and Chairman, Robert A. Feldmesser, Assistant Professor, Jerome Himelhoch, Assistant Professor, Maurice Stein, Assistant Professor, and Suzanne Keller, Visiting Lecturer.

Coser is at work on a book on the sociology of intellectuals; Feldmesser, recently at Harvard University, is working on problems of social stratification and social mobility in pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary Russia, and is collaborating with Maurice Stein and Stanley Diamond of the Anthropology Department on a long term community study of a New England city. Himelhoch is conducting research on the Waltham Jewish community, and on the development of a new brief Rorschach technique for use in social research. Stein has completed a book on American communities and is currently engaged in editing a reader on the problem of identity in collaboration with Arthur Vidich of the University of Connecticut. Miss Keller is gathering material for a book on elites and working on a theory of elite formation.

Brooklyn College. Roy Bowman, who retired in June, 1958, is the recipient of an award from the National Council of Jewish Women for the study of their membership of 100,000.

Rex D. Hopper has accepted a senior Fulbright Lectureship in Sociology at the University of Buenos Aires for the months of June, July, and August, 1959.

University of Buffalo. The Department of Sociology now includes Rodney Crook, George Hall, Isabel MacAulay, and Norman Snyder, Teaching Fellows; Eric Buck, Ronald Jones, and Eugene Piedmont, Instructors; Elliott Grosof, Assistant Professor; Elwin Powell and Constantine Yeracaris, Associate Professors; Milton Albrecht, Niles Carpenter, Llewellyn Gross, and Marvin Opler, Professors. Albrecht is Acting Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and Carpenter is Dean Emeritus of the School of Social Work. Gross is Chairman of the Department. Opler is on permanent part-time appointment in the Medical School as Professor of Social Psychiatry. He and Saxon Graham of the Roswell Park Cancer Research Institute will offer courses in medical sociology.

Canisius College. Jack H. Curtis received a Canisius College Faculty Grant for the summer of 1958 to finish his book, *Social Psychology*. He continues as consultant to the Buffalo Metropolitan Area Survey.

Thomas P. Imse directed the pilot study of the Buffalo Metropolitan Area Survey, published last November. He has been promoted to Associate Professor; and is Chairman of the Seventh Annual Buffalo Area Conference on Community Living.

Michael P. Penetar was Director of the Summer 1958 Buffalo Community Resources Workshop, jointly sponsored by Canisius College, the University of Buffalo, and Buffalo State Teachers College.

University of California, Berkeley. Reinhard Bendix, newly appointed Chairman of the Department, has received the 1958 annual MacIver award for his study *Work and Authority in Industry*.

Charles Y. Block, Professor of Sociology and Director of the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University, has accepted an appointment as Professor of Sociology and Director of the newly established Center for Survey Research. During 1957–58, Glock was in residence at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences as a Fellow completing a book on the Episcopal Church. At Berkeley he will give work in the sociology of religion.

Three members of the Sociology Department of the London School of Economics will be visiting members of the Berkeley faculty during 1958–59: Julius Gould, Hilde Himmelweit, and Donald MacRae. Gould and MacRae will teach in the Fall and Spring Semesters respectively in the Sociology Department, while Himmelweit will be located in the Psychology Department giving work in social psychology.

Hernan Godoy, Professor of Sociology at the University of Chile, will be in residence in Berkeley in 1958–59, engaged in study and research in industrial and political sociology.

Ernest Greenwood, now Professor in the School of Social Welfare, is conducting research on social work as a profession and has recently completed a study of the careers of social workers.

Judson T. Landis, Professor of Family Sociology in the Department of Home Economics, has been elected to the General Council of the International Union of Family Organizations. He has returned to Berkeley after teaching at the University of Alaska.

Jack London, Associate Professor in the School of Education, served as a faculty fellow in the Summer Institute of Social Gerontology at the University of Connecticut.

Clark E. Vincent, Assistant Professor of Family Sociology in the Department of Home Economics, has completed a study of *Unwed Mothers*.

University of California, Los Angeles. Joseph W. Eaton directs the School of Social Welfare's sequence of research courses. He is completing a corrections research planning survey, sponsored

jointly by the School and the State Board of Corrections. In the Spring Semester of 1959 Eaton will join the faculty of the Graduate School of Social Work of the University of Pittsburgh as Professor of Social Work Research. He will continue for some time to serve the University of California as Visiting Professor to direct a study on "Assessment of Group Treatment" in the Department of Corrections, with funds from a grant of the National Institute of Mental Health.

Walter C. Bailey, formerly Training Specialist with the Department of Human Factors of the System Development Corporation, has been appointed as Assistant Researcher and Lecturer at the School of Social Welfare. He is collaborating in the Group Treatment study and will teach research.

University of Colorado. Three Acting Assistant Professors have joined the Department: Earl E. Huyck, Ph.D., American University; Robert C. Hanson, Ph.D., University of California; and E. Merle Adams, Jr., who expects to receive his Ph.D. from Harvard early next year. Howard Higman, Associate Professor, has returned from academic leave spent in Europe where he gave a series of lectures on "The Pattern of American Society" at the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies. Gordon H. Barker, recently promoted to Professor, continues as Chairman of the Department. Barker and Thomas Adams, Sociologist with the Colorado State Industrial School, are currently engaged in research on "the institutional delinquent." Blaine E. Mercer was recently promoted to Associate Professor. Judson B. Pearson, Assistant Professor, is on leave, teaching in Germany in the Overseas Program of the University of Maryland. William Petersen, Associate Professor, is spending the academic year as a National Science Foundation Fellow in the Netherlands, doing demographic research. Edward Rose, through the sponsorship of the Society for the Study of Human Ecology, participated in an interdisciplinary research program in the behavioral sciences held at the University of New Mexico in cooperation with the Air Force Office of Scientific Research during the summer of 1958. He is currently engaged in historical and experimental studies of cultural formations.

Columbia University, Teachers College. Wilbur C. Hallenbeck, on the staff since 1935, retired in June, 1958.

Solon T. Kimball is spending the academic year 1958–1959 as education consultant in community research to the Brazilian Center for Educational Research, a branch of the Ministry of Education.

Mozell Hill has joined the Department of Social and Philosophical Foundations. Hill was formerly Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Atlanta University.

University of Connecticut. Edwin G. Burrows, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology, died on July 13, 1958. He taught in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology for 18 years and retired from the University in 1957. Burrows was best known for his ethnological studies in western Polynesia and especially for his collection of song texts from Uvea, Futuna, and Ifaluk.

In the fall of 1957, Arthur Vidich and Thomas Maretzki joined the Department as Assistant Professor of Sociology and Anthropology and as Instructor in Anthropology, respectively. Vidich came from the University of Puerto Rico and Maretzki received his Ph.D. degree in Anthropology from Yale University in 1957.

An Institute of Gerontology of the University has been established by the Board of Trustees, with Donald P. Kent as Director. The Institute program includes research in the field of aging and sponsorship of adult education in matters pertaining to the problem in the State.

Three members of the Department have received grants from the University of Connecticut Research Foundation: Floyd Dotson (recently promoted to Associate Professor) is on sabbatical leave for 1958–59, working on leadership and urbanization in a Mexican city; Dennison Nash has returned after completing field work on acculturation of the Japanese on the Isle of Pines, Cuba; Jerold S. Heiss is working on a study of marriage orientation among steady daters in high school. Heiss recently received the Ph.D. degree from Indiana University and he also completed a report as consultant to the Advisory and Review Board of the Connecticut Security Treatment Center.

Walter I. Wardwell has returned from a year's sabbatical leave during which he collaborated with the Connecticut Department of Health in a study of the stress factor in coronary heart disease. Bernard C. Rosen has been promoted to Assistant Professor, and has received a three-year grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to continue his study of the psychological origins of achievement motivation. Arthur L. Wood is working under a grant from the American Philosophical Society to complete his study of crime in Ceylon.

The Department of Rural Sociology has received a five-year contract with the State Highway Department to determine the impact of the Connecticut Turnpike on the economy of the eastern region of the State.

The University now has full or part-time staff teaching introductory Sociology and Anthropology at four branches throughout the State: Norman Ofslager at the Waterbury Branch, Donald Simmons at the Hartford Branch, George LaPorte at the Stamford center, and Absalom Vilikazi of the Hartford Seminary Foundation at the Torrington center.

Cornell University. It is with deep regret that the Department reports the loss by death of Allister Macmillan, Senior Research Associate in the Department, who had served for a number of years as Deputy Director, Study in Community Development and also of the Cornell Program in Social Psychiatry.

Robin M. Williams, Jr., Chairman, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, has returned to Cornell after serving as Carnegie Visiting Professor at the University of Hawaii for the Spring

term, and teaching in the summer session of the University of Southern California.

Edward A. Suchman is on leave for the year. He will be Visiting Professor of Medical Sociology in the School of Public Health, Columbia University, and Director, Social Science Activities, City of New York Department of Health.

William W. Lambert has received a Fulbright appointment to the University of Oslo, Norway.

William Delany and Wayne Thompson have been appointed Assistant Professors. Delany has been appointed to the editorial staff of *Administrative Science Quarterly*, published by the Graduate School of Business and Public Administration. Thompson has been appointed Assistant Director of the Social Science Research Center.

Rose K. Goldsen has returned to Cornell after a leave of absence as a Fulbright Lecturer at the Universities of Bordeaux and Rennes, France. Her monograph, "L'Interview a Réponses Libres," was published by the Institut Des Sciences Humaines Appliquées, University of Bordeaux.

A forthcoming number of the *Journal of Social Issues* will be published soon on the Cornell Studies of Occupational Retirement. Gordon Streib and Wayne Thompson are special issue editors. Their grant for the Study of Retirement and Family Relationships has been renewed by the National Institutes of Health.

Allan R. Holmberg, who was Acting Chairman of the Department spring term, served as a special consultant to the Institute of International Education and made a tour of a number of Latin American countries during the Summer of 1958.

Norman Kaplan is continuing his research on the sociological study of research organizations in medical and related sciences under a grant from the National Institutes of Health.

Alexander Leighton has returned from the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences where he was a Fellow for the year 1957–58. He now holds a joint appointment in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and is Professor of Psychiatry in the Cornell Medical College.

Charles Hughes has been appointed Assistant Director, Cornell Program in Social Psychiatry.

J. Mayone Stycos is continuing the Jamaica Life Project, sponsored by the Population Council and he is initiating a study of fertility in Haiti under the sponsorship of the Conservation Foundation.

John M. Roberts has joined the staff. He was Professor of Anthropology at the University of Nebraska.

Leo Meltzer, (Ph.D., University of Michigan), has joined the Department as Assistant Professor. He will be teaching in the Social Psychology program sponsored by the Department of Psychology and the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

Robert J. Smith has returned from his field research in Japan, supported by the Institute of International Education. He conducted a follow-up study of the village which he investigated originally in 1951.

Dillard University. Daniel C. Thompson, Professor of Sociology and Chairman of the Division of the Social Sciences, has been awarded a grant by the Ford Foundation for a study of the role of leaders in the changing pattern of Negro-white relations in New Orleans.

University of Georgia. Raymond V. Bowers joined the faculty on September 1 as Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. He leaves the Federal Government after 16 years in the research and statistics programs of the Selective Service System, the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and the Department of the Air Force. He succeeds B. O. Williams who has been Head of the Department since 1940 and is a past president of the Southern Sociological Society. Williams has given up his administrative duties because of ill health but will continue to serve the Department as Professor of Sociology. John C. Belcher, Associate Professor, is on full-time research the Fall quarter directing the population section of the Southern Appalachian Studies program which is supported by a Ford Foundation grant. Raymond Payne, Associate Professor, will be on full-time research in the spring to begin a social psychological study of suburbanization of the Athens area.

Hamline University. Leland Cooper during the past summer collected materials from various Indian tribes in the Southwest. He has been named a member of the Board of Directors of the new Madeline Island Historical Museum in Wisconsin.

Julianna Schmidt has been appointed President pro-tem of the Minnesota Conference on Social Work Education. She will act as Chairman of the annual meeting which will be held at the University.

F. James Davis, Head of the Department, taught at the University of Minnesota during the past summer.

Hofstra College. Three new men have been added to the Department: Walter B. Simon, Assistant Professor, who taught formerly at The City College of New York, Dartmouth, and Columbia; Naidya Nath Varma, Instructor, who is co-author and Associate Editor of *India: A Sociological Background* and a contributor to *Uttar Pradesh: A Case Study;* and Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek, Adjunct Lecturer, a graduate of Leyden University in the Netherlands, whose book on contemporary trends in the social sciences in the United States was published last fall in Dutch.

Anthony Leeds did summer field work among the Yaruro Indians of Venezuela on a grant from the Social Science Research Council.

Sylvia Sherwood planned and acted as consultant to an experimental workshop in Methodology in Sociology and the Social Sciences offered on a non-credit basis to a select group of high school freshmen in a Long Island high school.

University of Illinois, Urbana. The staff of the Department now numbers 55 persons. There are 23 members of the regular teaching faculty,

nine graduate teaching assistants, 14 sociology research staff members, and nine anthropology research staff members. In September the Department began a program of study leading to the Ph.D. degree in Anthropology.

Richard Dewey has left to serve as Chairman of the Department of Sociology at the University of New Hampshire, and four new members have joined the teaching staff of the Department: Joan M. Chapman, formerly of New York University, and Ralph G. Connor, from the University of Washington, as Instructors in Sociology; Bernard Phillips, for the past three years Research Assistant Professor in the School of Public Health, University of North Carolina, as Assistant Professor of Sociology; and Charles R. Kaut, formerly Research Associate in the Philippines Studies Program of the University of Chicago, as Visiting Lecturer in Anthropology.

The Department has recently received a grant from the Ford Foundation to support a four-year study of recidivism among parolees from federal prisons. The study is being directed by Daniel Glaser.

Los Angeles State College. Robert L. Fulton, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, and Hal Eberhart have joined the Department as Assistant Professors.

Marquette University. Rudolph E. Morris has been appointed Chairman of the Department. Bela Kovrig, with a grant from the Research Committee of the University, is working on the sociology of rebellion. Frank J. Atelsek was with the Minnesota Department of Employment Security during the summer of 1958, studying commuting patterns in metropolitan areas. Paul J. Reiss is directing a research project of the Milwaukee Intercollegiate Council on Intergroup Relations on Puerto Rican Families in Milwaukee.

University of Massachusetts. C. Wendell King was a Fellow at the Summer Institute on Social Gerontology sponsored by the University of Michigan on the campus of the University of Connecticut. King has received a University Teacher's Research Grant for a study of "The Changing Roles of the Aged."

Edwin D. Driver has returned to the Department after a sabbatical year in India where he was a Fulbright Lecturer at Hislop College, Nagpur University. Driver was also Acting Director of the Seminar in American History and Culture at Andhra University. Driver has received a University Teacher's Research Grant to analyze data on fertility and mortality patterns in the Nagpur district of India.

Thomas O. Wilkinson has returned after a year's leave at the International Urban Research Project, University of California, Berkeley, where he was Assistant Research Sociologist. Wilkinson is a collaborator in the forthcoming IUR monograph, *The World's Metropolitan Areas.* He has also received a grant from the Population Council to analyze urban data in the 1955 census of Japan.

Marc J. Swartz has been promoted to Assistant Professor of Anthropology. He has received a University Teacher's Research Grant to complete his study, *The Social Organization of Behavior: Relations Among Kinsmen on Ronionum, Truk.*

Lewis Yablonsky has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology. Yablonsky has been director of the Morningside Heights, Inc. Crime Prevention Project, and has taught at Columbia and The City College of New York. He is the author of a forthcoming book on juvenile gangs in New York City, President-Elect of the American Society of Group Psychotherapy, and book review editor of *Group Psychotherapy.*

Michigan State University. Charles R. Hoffer, acting Head of the Department, is the President-Elect of the Rural Sociological Society. J. Allan Beegle has accepted the appointment of Editor of *Rural Sociology* effective with the June, 1958, issue.

Charles P. Loomis has been made responsible for the Carnegie-supported Latin American and Border Projects as well as studies carried on by contract with the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences in Costa Rica.

Richard N. Adams has returned from Chile where he participated in the study of the Overseas Programs of American Universities that is being carried out by the Michigan State University Institute of Research on Overseas Programs.

Duane Gibson, in addition to his duties as Professor of Sociology and Anthropology and as Coordinator of Continuing Education for the College of Science and Arts, has been named Director of the Program for Liberal Arts Education for Adults, an activity supported by a five-year grant from the Fund for Adult Education.

Edward Moe was coordinator of the Executive Development School of the American National Red Cross held at their National Training Center, Charlottesville, Virginia, August 10–22.

Walter Freeman has been promoted to the rank of Associate Professor, and appointed Chief of Research for the Institute for Community Development and Services.

Iwao Ishino, recently promoted to Associate Professor, has been awarded a Fulbright grant for 1958–59, to teach in Japan. He is lecturing in Cultural Anthropology at the University of Tokyo.

Jack Preiss has been appointed to the Governor's Committee on Research and Training in Psychiatry.

New appointments to the staff include: Moreau Maxwell, John Gullahorn, Harold Goldsmith, John Howell, and John Messenger.

Moreau Maxwell returned in September from the High Arctic where he carried out an archaeological reconnaissance of northeast Ellesmere Island as a member of the National Museum of Canada. His activities there were part of the Canadian Geophysical Year Program at Lake Hazen under the sponsorship of the Canadian Defence Research Board.

John Messenger returned in September after conducting ethnographic research in the Aran Islands of Ireland for a three-month period.

The Social Research Service in the Department

of Sociology and Anthropology has received a grant from the United States Public Health Service for a five-year study of Anglo-Latino relations in hospitals and communities, of which Charles Loomis is the principal investigator and William V. D'Antonio, who spent the summer coordinating research in four different United States-Mexican border area sites, is field director.

A grant has been received from the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare for a study of the structure of a new test measuring a person's occupational aspiration level and the variation of test scores under different sociological, psychological, and educational conditions. Archie Haller is directing this study.

A grant from the United States Department of State to study the professional and social consequences of Fulbright and Smith-Mundt awards for approximately 10,000 grantees has been made to the Social Research Service. John Gullahorn is directing this study.

Jay Artis and J. Allan Beegle are studying the role of the rural professional in relation to migration behavior, supported by the United States Department of Agriculture.

University of Michigan. Through a grant from the Public Health Service, a number of National Institute of Mental Health traineeships have been made available to persons interested in advanced study in the doctoral program in social work and social science. Applicants for the program may be considered also for fellowships provided under a grant from Russell Sage Foundation. Fellowship applications will be received up to February 1, 1959. Applications for admission may be filed up to June 1, 1959. For detailed information and application forms, write to Dr. Henry Meyer, School of Social Work, University of Michigan.

New School for Social Research has opened a Center for African Studies, directed by Sanford Griffith. Courses of sociological interest are given by S. and J. Comhaire, on Black Africa's larger cities, and by W. B. Schwab, on Africa in transition.

The Ohio State University. Saad Z. Nagi has been appointed Assistant Professor of Rural Sociology. A. R. Mangus lectured last summer at the University of California, Berkeley. Merton Oyler is continuing his research on social changes among the Amish in Ohio. Wade H. Andrews, Associate Professor of Rural Sociology, has recently directed a series of 14 radio programs entitled, "Vital Issues of Our Times." He is currently directing research studies of industrialization of rural areas, migration to the rural-urban fringe, and membership relations in economic organizations.

John B. Mitchell, from the University of Rhode Island, has joined the staff as Associate Professor of Rural Sociology. Perley Ayer of Berea College has been appointed Visiting Fellow in the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology for the 1958–59 academic year.

Oregon State College. William A. Foster, Jr., a recent graduate in Rural Sociology from Cornell University, has joined the staff as Assistant Professor. Hans H. Plambeck, Chairman of the Department, is a member of a college-wide coordinating committee for a comprehensive two-year study of the human and natural resources of the Warm Springs Indian Reservation.

University of Oregon. Joel V. Berreman is on half-time status for two years in order to serve as Research Associate with the Oregon Study of Rehabilitation of Mental Hospital Patients, a project financed on a matching basis by the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation and the State of Oregon. Miriam Johnson is serving as Research Assistant on the project.

Robert Dubin has been appointed Research Professor of Sociology. He was recently elected to a three-year term as Associate Editor of the *American Sociological Review*.

Herb Bisno has received a one-year extension of his leave of absence in order to go to Israel as a consultant on the development of a new school of social work. This follows his year's service as Director of the Undergraduate Curriculum Study for the Council on Social Work Education. Ben Johnson has been retained a second year as replacement for Bisno.

John M. Foskett and Robert Agger of the Political Science Department are preparing to carry out an expanded community study program in a large metropolitan area, replicating previous Valley City studies.

Harry Alpert, Professor of Sociology and Dean of the Graduate School, was recently elected to the Board of Directors of the Population Association of America and is serving as Vice-President of the American Sociological Society.

Lionel S. Wishneff has joined the staff as Assistant Professor, and James Rollins has been appointed Instructor after serving an internship at the Oregon State Penitentiary last summer.

University of Pittsburgh, Administrative Science Center. Robert W. Hawkes has been appointed Research Associate in the Center and Assistant Professor in the Department of Psychology. Other members of the staff are Peter B. Hammond, Buford H. Junker, Arthur Tuden, and James D. Thompson, Director.

A Postdoctoral Fellowship in Administrative Science will be offered again for the 1959–60 academic year. Open to those trained in any of the social sciences or professional fields, the Fellowship provides a year in residence at the Center for research of the Fellow's own choosing. A basic stipend of 5,000 dollars will be supplemented by travel and dependency allowances and incidental research costs.

Several Graduate Student Assistantships in the Administrative Science Center will be available in 1959–60 to students working toward the doctorate in one of the social science departments or professional schools. These carry stipends of 2,000 dollars and tuition.

Further information about the Fellowship or Assistantships may be obtained from the Director, Administrative Science Center, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania.

Princeton University. Melvin M. Tumin, after directing a two-year field study of white adult males in Guilford County, North Carolina, has summarized the findings in the recently published volume: *Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness.*

University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada. Richard E. DuWors has accepted an appointment as Professor of Sociology and Head of the new Department of Sociology at the University. Edward J. Abramson of the Pennsylvania State University has accepted a year's appointment as Visiting Associate Professor.

Southern Illinois University. Field work has been completed on a study of "The Effect of Migrant Farm Labor on the Education of Children," directed by Melvin S. Brooks. The study has been made possible by grants from the U. S. Office of Education.

In cooperation with the Jackson County Health Department, an extended study of "The Relationship of Family Stress Factors in Personality Formation" is now under way. Participating in the study, which is supported by grants of the U. S. Children's Bureau and the Division of Preventive Medicine, Bureau of Maternal and Child Health, are Dr. Roger F. Sondag, of the Jackson County Health Department, Melvin S. Brooks, Herman R. Lantz, and Douglas L. Rennie.

Donald R. Taft, retired Professor of the University of Illinois, is Visiting Professor during the Winter and Spring quarters.

Louise A. Johnson, who served as Lecturer in Sociology during the academic year 1957–58, has returned to Columbia University to continue studies toward the Ph.D. She is being replaced by Betty Goldiamond, also from Columbia.

Stanford University. Takeyoshi Kawashima, Professor of Sociology at Tokyo University, has been appointed Visiting Professor of Sociology for the coming academic year. Charles Drekmeier has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology.

The Department has received a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation to plan, in collaboration with the Stanford Medical School, a teaching and research program in medical sociology. Edmund H. Volkart, Executive Head of the Department of Sociology and Thomas Gonda, Executive Head of the Department of Psychiatry, are directing the project.

Robert A. Ellis, Assistant Professor of Sociology, has received a grant-in-aid from the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology to initiate a study of social differences in the academic performance of college undergraduates.

David Mechanic and Leslie C. Waldo have received Public Health Service Research Fellowships from the National Institute of Mental Health. Alex Clarke has received a William Randolph and Dora Haynes Foundation Fellowship.

Tulane University announces the creation of a lectureship in Social Psychiatry jointly sponsored by the Department of Psychiatry and Neurology and the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and supported by the Mona Bronfman Sheckman Foundation. The guest lecturers will be alternately a social scientist and a psychiatrist. The lectures will be published in monograph series. For further information contact the Program Co-chairmen, Dr. Harold I. Lief or Professor Forrest LaViolette, Tulane University.

State College of Washington. Milton A. Maxwell has returned from a sabbatical year at the Yale Center for Alcohol Studies where he did research on alcoholism in industry. Paul H. Landis, State Professor of Sociology, was a delegate of the National Council on Family Relations to the World Family Conference in Paris last June. Edward Gross is on sabbatical leave in Israel, where he is doing research in industrial sociology. Vernon Davies will be on sabbatical leave beginning in February. William Elmendorf taught at the University of British Columbia and carried on ethnographic research in the Vancouver area during the summer.

Ivan Nye, Director of the Sociological Research Laboratory, has received grants from the National Institute of Mental Health and the College Committee on Research in support of research dealing with employed mothers. James Short, Vernon Davies, and Edward Gross are the authors of a monograph reporting the findings of a study of the effectiveness of various methods of teaching introductory sociology. The research was supported by a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education, the Ford Foundation. Walter Slocum has joined the State College of Washington-ICA program in Pakistan as Sociologist. John B. Edlefsen has been appointed Acting Head of the Department of Rural Sociology in Slocum's absence.

James Boyce, from the University of Texas, has been appointed Acting Instructor.

University of Washington. Sanford M. Dornbusch has been awarded an SSRC Faculty Research Fellowship for the period 1958–1961. As co-investigator, he also will participate in a study of categories of interpersonal perception under the auspices of the National Institute of Mental Health.

Warren E. Kalbach, who received his Ph.D. degree in the Fall quarter, has accepted the Directorship of the Oregon State Board of Census. He also will be affiliated with Portland State College as Assistant Professor of Sociology.

Donald P. Hayes has been appointed Instructor in Sociology. He will divide his time between the Departments of Psychiatry and Sociology.

Milton Yinger of Oberlin College will be a Visiting Professor of Sociology during the 1959 Summer Session.

Calvin F. Schmid has been appointed to the Medical Advisory Committee of the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education.

Western Reserve University. Richard Schermerhorn taught at the Salzburg Seminar in Ameri-

can Studies last summer. Marvin B. Sussman and R. Clyde White, School of Applied Social Sciences, with the assistance of Mrs. Eleanor Caplan, Research Associate, have completed a study of a transitional community of Cleveland, to be published as *The Hough Area: A Study of Social Life and Change*. Sussman was one of 36 faculty fellows at the inter-university sponsored Institute of Social Gerontology at the University of Connecticut last August.

Irving Rosow, formerly of Purdue University, is Director of the Ford Foundation Study of Housing Needs for Older Persons. He has a joint appointment as Associate Professor of Sociology in Arts and Sciences and the School of Applied Social Sciences.

Newbell N. Puckett will be on sabbatical leave during the Spring semester.

University of Wisconsin. The Department of Sociology and Anthropology has split into separate departments. William H. Sewell has assumed the chairmanship of the Department of Sociology and David A. Baerreis the chairmanship of the Department of Anthropology.

Marshall B. Clinard was a Visiting Professor at Brigham Young University during the past summer and currently is spending a year in India helping to set up an urban community development program sponsored by the Ford Foundation and the Government of India.

Howard Becker, President-Elect of the American Sociological Society, is inaugurating a televised sociology course.

Robert McGinnis has returned from a year at the University of California (Berkeley) where he was a SSRC postdoctoral fellow in the Departments of Mathematics and Statistics. Norman B. Ryder has been promoted to Associate Professor and Hans H. Gerth to Professor. Lyle W. Shannon and Robert McGinnis are directing a research project investigating value assimilation among immigrant laborers to an industrial community; the project is supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health.

Robert C. Davis has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology and Project Associate on the immigrant laborer study. Kiyoshi Ikeda and Irwin Goldberg have been appointed Instructors in the Department.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Human Condition. By HANNAH ARENDT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958. vi, 322 pp. $4.75.

Hannah Arendt, author of the recent *Origins of Totalitarianism,* turns her attention here, in the Walgreen Lectures delivered at the University of Chicago, to nothing less than the entire human situation. It is a situation, she believes, that especially requires examination at the present time when we are all, so to speak, still together, before most of us have been annihilated by an atomic bomb and before some of us have escaped into space in one of the rockets that, until a short time ago, appeared only in the pages of science fiction and are now an almost weekly reality. Indeed, this latter possibility is one to which Miss Arendt attributes particular importance: "Should the emancipation and secularization of the modern age, which began with a turning-away, not necessarily from God, but from a god who was the Father of men in heaven, end with an even more fateful repudiation of an Earth who was the Mother of all living creatures under the sky?"

This is more than a rhetorical question. It is a question that underlies and informs the whole of the author's inquiry. Parenthetically, the repudiation to which the question refers takes two forms—it is a two-fold flight from the earth into the universe on the one hand and from the world into the self on the other. It is obvious that this flight has relevance for the nature and meaning of society—and accordingly for sociology.

Miss Arendt begins with definitions. The old distinction between the *vita contemplativa* and the *vita activa* is insufficiently discriminating with respect to the latter. The active life has in fact three different aspects that are subsumed in the fundamental categories of labor, work, and action. Labor, the first of these, is the process that sustains the individual as procreation sustains the race; it is a biological process, involving growth, metabolism, and decay; it is one of the basic conditions of life. Work, on the other hand, "corresponds to the unnaturalness of human existence"; it produces things that endure and, in enduring, transcend the biological cycle; it provides an "artificial" world to go along with the "natural" world and results in what we have come to call "culture"—although Miss Arendt does not use this convenient word. Action, finally, is activity that is made up of the interactions of men, their social intercourse as it were, especially when taking place without the mediation of things or matter; it "corresponds to the human condition of plurality" and is the basis—the *conditio sine qua non* and the *conditio per quam*—of political life.

These three activities—labor, work, and action—are the irreducible conditions of human life. The first ensures the perpetuation both of the individual and of the species; the second assures the durability of the human artifact; and the third is the essential condition of human history. The implications of these propositions occupy the author throughout the major portion of her chapters.

It is not possible, of course, to follow Miss Arendt's analysis in detail. It is not even easy to give a label to her enterprise. As the above distinctions would indicate, the argument runs along on a level that is at once erudite and profound, complex and abstruse. It is not philosophy in the usual sense—the author intentionally omits the category of thinking because it engages only a minority of men and is therefore less fundamental. It is not economic theory or political sociology in any orthodox sense of these terms. It can best be characterized perhaps as a treatise in philosophical economics. In dealing with work, for example, Miss Arendt observes that reification, an error in metaphysics, is an act of creativity in economics. Reification, in short, is fabrication, and it is in fabrication that *homo faber,* in contrast both to the *animal laborans* and *homo sapiens,* achieves his fulfillment.

There is no question that *The Human Condition* is an important book. Miss Arendt's great learning, her dialectical subtlety, and most especially her philological sensitivity take us far beneath the surface of contemporary social thought and give her probing an unusual effectiveness. Her discussion of the cave-myth in Plato—to which she gives a political rather than a metaphysical interpretation—of the *zoon politikon* in Aristotle, of the Archimedean point, and of the Cartesian doubt, to choose only a few examples, are both scintillating and exciting. At the same time, the high marks we give the book are not unconditional. Miss Arendt

sometimes sacrifices cogency for originality and pushes some of her interpretations a little too far to sustain credibility. The basic organization of the book is beyond criticism, but the separate sections sometimes exhibit an absence of direction and the incidental insight often assumes more importance than a central thesis. Finally, the anfractuosities of the author's thought are sometimes difficult to follow and one reader at least does not always have confidence in his ability to understand what it is that she is trying to say. These comments, however, are of a trivial character and do not detract in any measure from what must be regarded as a significant contribution to the intellectual history of our own time.

ROBERT BIERSTEDT
The City College of New York

Man and Crisis. By JOSÉ ORTEGA Y GASSET. Translated by MILDRED ADAMS. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1958. 217 pp. $4.50.

This is a tantalizing book. It attempts to interpret the contemporary crisis, but the reader does not know the meaning of contemporary because the date of the original Spanish publication is nowhere given. It is 1933. Furthermore, the author seems to be building throughout toward a prophecy of the future of Western man. It never comes.

Despite its tantalizing character, *Man and Crisis* is thoroughly rewarding. It is carefully reasoned and lucidly written. If the style, because of its constant circling back, reminds one of George H. Mead, the substance reminds one of Spengler, Sorokin, and Toynbee. This is not philosophy of history in the grand manner, but it is more than a minor essay therein.

Ortega's main thesis is that we can learn much about the crisis into which he sees us moving by studying what he conceives to be the two previous crises in the history of Western man. The first, and worst, he places between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D. He speaks of Romans, Greeks, and Jews alike as desperate; though they did not realize it, all was already lost. They had elaborated life in trivial directions, and in the process had lost faith in themselves or in anything else. Cultures were mongrelized, having no core of meaning. Not until after the age of the Antonines, however, did the house come tumbling down. Thereafter it took a thousand years for the old order to decay and for the medieval synthesis to reach its full flower.

The second period of crisis Ortega dates between 1400 and 1600 A.D. The medieval synthesis of Thomas Aquinas—holding that God is rational and that reason is the bridge between man and his world—had been ruptured by the insistence of Duns Scotus that God was pure will and could behave irrationally. Hence man was living in two worlds—the divine world beyond reason to which he must submit, and the human world in which reason was a powerful tool. This split induced a crisis, though not so devastating as the one of 1500 years earlier. For two hundred years there was contention between the dying medieval world view and the modern one which was to blossom in science. It was not until the simplifying work of Galileo and Descartes that the scientific outlook became dominant, giving direction to developments until our own century.

Ortega explicitly states that we have now reached a new time of crisis. Since the high point of positivism he feels that we have been drifting again into confusion. Life has become top-heavy with scientific complexity. The faith in science is no longer sufficient to make life meaningful, and nothing has appeared to take its place. Remembering that this book was written before the atomic age, we must admire its prophetic quality. But though Ortega hints that he knows what is in store for Western man, he never explicates it. One can only guess that he thinks our situation analogous to that of Cicero, and that again a simplifying faith will arise to make life whole again.

One curious aspect of this book is that Ortega seems to believe that his whole theory rests upon his conception of the role of the generation in history. Quite simply, this doctrine holds that in each 15 years there is born an historical cohort which looks out upon the world in a way different from its predecessor, and that it is in the dialectic between young adults and the more mature adults that history is made. He does not mean that at 45, let's say, a man changes his view. He literally means that those born in a particular 15-year period maintain a sense of solidarity throughout life. He seriously proposes to decide what are the right years to put together in a generation. For instance, he says that those born from 1589 through 1603 form a generation. Descartes, born in 1596, is its central and unifying figure. Hobbes, whose birth was in 1588, is pronounced to be in the previous generation. He lays off fifteen year periods backward from 1589 and forward from 1603 to mark off the functional generations. That a serious scholar and a great philosopher should hold such a view is all the more remarkable because his insights into the dialectic of history in no way depend upon it.

ROBERT C. ANGELL
University of Michigan

The Sociology of Religion. By THOMAS FORD HOULT. New York: Dryden Press, 1958. xii, 436 pp. $5.25.

The resurgence of religion in America has made the task of the social scientist in religion both easier and more difficult. It is easier because new attention has been given to religion as an area for social science research. It is more difficult because of the theological trends that have accompanied the new interest in religion. Paradoxically, contemporary theologians seem to accept a more realistic approach to social structure and culture, but at the same time argue for religious orthodoxy. Hence social science writers on religion will approach their task with cognizance of the complex nature of the religious revival.

Hoult uses several related theories. Sociocultural determinism "implies that the structure of religious institutions and the nature of religious belief in given times and areas . . . is largely determined by the fact that men live in particular kinds of groups and develop unique cultures" (p. 383). "The theory of interaction implies that religion is often functionally significant when it interacts with nonreligious aspects of society and culture" (p. 384). The principle of sociocultural compatibility has two components: (1) the constituent parts of any given society tend to be compatible with one another and to be mutually responsive and to uphold complementary beliefs and practices, and (2) the constituent parts of any given society tend to be compatible with one another because they are generally, to some extent, products of the same social forms and cultural norms. Since "the content and form of any religious system are often affected by cultural values that are not indigenous to the area in which the religion develops," the processes of diffusion and borrowing are employed (p. 38). This is an integrative approach to sociological and anthropological theory that is logically congenial to religious phenomena. This reviewer regrets Hoult did not include personality theory.

The religious commitment of the social scientist is crucial in a book about religion. Hoult assumes that the sociologist must be nonsectarian, if he wishes to make meaningful generalizations. Scholar that he is, the author, in this reviewer's opinion, has not been completely successful in avoiding a sectarian orientation. Some parts of the book appear to be written by one who is culturally a Protestant and who makes judgments about other religious orientations that a Protestant would make. Perhaps it would be more fruitful to be more articulate about one's religious orientation and the presuppositions that are inherent in that comitment.

This is a very acceptable text for a social science interpretation of religion in advanced undergraduate courses or in initial graduate work. It will need interpretation for a social science course in a divinity school.

SAMUEL W. BLIZZARD
Princeton Theological Seminary

Social Class in American Sociology. By MILTON M. GORDON. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1958. xiii, 281 pp. $6.00.

This study picks up where Charles Page's *Class and American Sociology* left off. In order to analyse and evaluate the expanding body of stratification theory and research, Gordon has traced the development of this field of sociological inquiry in the United States since the end of World War I. Instead of a comprehensive review of the literature, however, he has made a judicious selection from the available materials in order to illustrate alternative approaches and to illuminate particular problems. In chronological sequence the author assesses the contributions and limitations of the ecological school, Sorokin's *Social Mobility*, the two Middletown studies, and the work of W. L. Warner and his associates. He reviews a number of other studies of stratification in the local community, among them Dollard's *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, Powdermaker's *After Freedom*, Hollingshead's *Elmtown's Youth*, West's *Plainville, U.S.A.*, and Goldschmidt's *As You Sow*. The analysis of other research is organized around several "problem areas": functionalism, the nature of the status order, class as class consciousness, and the relevance of class in a mass society. The "logic" and "rationale" of stratification scales are then closely examined. The concluding chapter presents a rough paradigm for a multidimensional approach to social stratification.

Four central problems run through Gordon's analysis, the focus of which is chiefly "methodological and analytical." What are the important stratification variables and what other variables are related to stratification? How does one ascertain who belongs to each class? What do we know about social mobility? What relationships exist between ethnic and other forms of social stratification?

Within this framework Gordon has provided a thorough and useful critical evaluation of the major contributions to the study of class over the past forty years. His assessments are judicious and reasonable, his criticisms and suggestions for future research thoughtful and illumi-

nating. In reviewing the alternative methods and concepts used in the analysis of stratification he has provided convincing evidence that the facts of hierarchy and inequality in society require a multidimensional approach, that analysis confined to any one variable, or focussed primarily upon it, is likely to lead only to severely limited results.

Several striking facts and impressions emerge from this material, in addition to those which Gordon explicitly notes or emphasizes. The analyses of class structure offered by the "Fathers" of American sociology and reviewed by Page seem to have had little if any significant impact upon their successors. Indeed, for nearly two decades after World War I there was remarkably little direct attention paid to class structure, apart from Sorokin's *Social Mobility*, the work of the Lynds, and the applications and critiques of Marxist theory (which are ignored by Gordon, presumably because they came from authors who were not, strictly speaking, sociologists).

The "Fathers" all emphasized the importance of economic elements in class, though on the whole they rejected both Marxist definitions and explanations. Gordon therefore has ample precedent—and substantial warrant—for suggesting that "social-class analysis represents an attempt to come to grips with the cumulative effect of basic economic factors in stratifying a modern society" (p. 234). But with only a few exceptions, most students of stratification seem to have taken off on a different tack, particularly in recent years. Economic factors either have been ignored or have been reduced to a secondary role. Although most sociologists accept the fact that occupation is the most important determinant of status, they usually assign priority to social rank in their analysis of social structure. Those consequences of occupational and other forms of economic stratification that are not mediated through status differentiation are, as a result, either minimized or ignored.

These facts raise significant questions in the "sociology of sociology." Why has the work of the "Fathers" been ignored? Why has class analysis in the past two decades focussed on status ranking rather than economic stratification? The answers are obviously to be found in both the immanent development of sociology and the impact of external pressures. The post-World War I rejection of evolutionary theory and the shift from broad generalization to detailed empirical research led to the neglect of much of the earlier analysis. The increased emphasis upon status stratification in the forties and fifties (prior to Warner's work the chief alternative to economic definitions of class was in terms of class consciousness) may reflect an actual increase in the importance of status in American society as over against economic position. But it may also stem from an ideologically and theoretically based concern with non-historical, functional problems. It is perhaps significant that those sociologists most concerned with social change (the Lynds and C. Wright Mills, for example) keep economic factors center stage where, Gordon suggests, they belong.

ELY CHINOY

Smith College

Du Malaise Politique en France. By NATHAN LEITES. Recherches en Sciences Humaines, II. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1958. 193 pp. No price indicated, paper.

Mr. Leites, who has already co-authored *The House Without Windows: France Selects a President* (Evanston, 1958), has given us another fascinating analysis of the French Parliament during the Fourth Republic. I hope it will soon be translated. Mr. Leites states that he is only suggesting hypotheses about French parliamentary behavior, that the quotations he cites in support of his hypotheses (all from members of Parliament, the French press, and close observers of French politics) are illustrative and not demonstrative, and that he is not claiming that the phenomena he describes are necessarily peculiar to France. He is concerned, however, with analyzing both the conduct of the French parliamentary groups (except the Communists, their allies, and the "extreme right") and the beliefs of the French "political class" about their conduct.

Five of the six chapters of the book provide a dramatic systematization of various parliamentary maneuvers. In the first chapter, Mr. Leites discusses tactics employed in "the struggle to avoid responsibility." In the second, entitled "Removing Mortgages," he discusses such devious maneuvers as futhering a policy in order to demonstrate that there is no majority to support it. In the third, "The Resources of Time," he discusses the postponement of decisions. In the fourth, "Precautions and Accommodations," he discusses the tendency of French politicians to be highly conciliatory, to avoid public debate of major problems, and to blur issues. In the fifth, "The Search for Situations beyond One's Control," he discusses the beliefs that the French political system acts only when it is forced by events to do so, that the leaders are satisfied with solutions that afford immediate relief at the cost of long-term damage, and that problems are dealt with separately even when they are closely interconnected.

The final chapter, entitled "Factions and Doctrines," differs from the others in that it deals less with the classification of parliamentary maneuvers than with the question of why the French Parliament behaves as it does (or did). Mr. Leites persuasively suggests the hypothesis that French politics is not dominated by ideology, theory, history, or basic orientations toward "right" and "left," but by individual and group ambitions, interests, and convictions of what the national interest requires in any given situation. Mr. Leites takes issue here with some of the current analyses of French politics, and it is certain that his book will be responsible for much rethinking of some of the classic explanations of political differences in France.

Mr. Leites does not discuss the relations between the behavior of French politicians and the institutional structure within which they must act, but his book will be a valuable instrument for assessing the consequences for political behavior of the new French constitution. Quite apart from its usefulness for comparative analysis, however, Mr. Leites' book is a highly readable and stimulating investigation of one of the political world's most complicated institutions.

ROY PIERCE
University of Michigan

De Repatriëring uit Indonesië. By J. H. KRAAK and others. The Hague: Government Printing Office, 1958. 461 pp. Fl. 9.00.

This timely study deals with the postwar arrival and integration of more than 200,000 citizens of Dutch and Eurasian extraction into the Netherlands community. The survey was officially sponsored by the Ministry of Social Work and conducted by the Institute for Social Inquiry of the Dutch People, the Sociological Institute of the Dutch Reformed Church, and the Catholic Socio-Religious Institute.

The work has considerable merit as a broad introductory survey. It begins with a concise history of the Dutch and Eurasians in Indonesia, providing essential background for understanding their migration from Indonesia and subsequent adjustment in the Netherlands. The heart of the study deals with the latter aspect. Such key problem areas as employment, housing, family life, religious integration, and social work are discussed in detail. The impression conveyed by the authors is that adjustment has been far better than anticipated. Although the group has suffered considerable status depreciation most members have found relatively satisfactory absorption within the booming labor market.

The analysis of integration is based mainly on the findings of questionnaires and (162) interviews. Addresses were available for 15,000 of the total 48,000 persons registered as "war victims;" of these a random sample of 3,000 persons was sent questionnaires. As only those who had an occupation or job before the 1942 Japanese occupation had been defined as war victims, the whole younger age group was automatically excluded. The authors frankly warn the reader of this serious limitation, justifying the procedure by citing the lack of available data. In this reviewer's opinion they might have been even more emphatic and defined the group in the title. Of the total number of responses, persons under 30 provide a scant 0.1 per cent, under 35 a mere 2.9 per cent, and below 40 only 11.6 per cent.

The lengthy questionnaire received only a relatively good response with the aid of two follow-ups. Slightly over 45 per cent of the forms were used while 46 per cent failed to respond. To facilitate analysis the authors separated the responses into three main categories based on the person's position in Indonesia. Group A had been temporary Dutch immigrants in Indonesia; Group B (largely Eurasians) the mobile but significantly less temporary groups of settled Dutch, and Group C (almost exclusively Eurasians) the permanently settled Dutch. The numerically small group A accounts for 50.8 per cent of the responses; groups B and C for 26 and 20.6 per cent respectively. The authors feel that the time at which the survey was conducted is the explanation of this serious discrepancy (p. 26). This reviewer feels that the clue lies in the representativeness of the original sample. Fortunately, the authors recognize the danger of generalizations and record reactions within each category separately in both text and tables.

This Dutch study is an important contribution to an understanding of Indonesian repatriates now living in the Netherlands. It should encourage other studies, preferably under private auspices.

PAUL W. VAN DER VEUR
University of Hawaii

The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East. By DANIEL LERNER. With the collaboration of LUCILLE W. PEVSNER and an introduction by DAVID RIESMAN. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. xiii, 466 pp. $7.50.

While Dr. Lerner will undoubtedly please no one completely, he will assuredly stimulate all by his attempt to use public opinion research techniques to elucidate problems of social dynamics in the Middle East. The raw material

serves only as a starting point for Dr. Lerner's analysis of contemporary social change in Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey. The data were gathered in a field study of communications behavior among some 1600 individuals, conducted in the Middle East in 1950–51 for the Voice of America by the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University. The original study had no particular theoretical premise; it was "classified," hence beyond academic examination. It is important, however, to note that the questionnaires, on which Dr. Lerner's analysis is based, were prepared and later interpreted by social research specialists among whom there were no scholars with any experience in the Middle East. Perhaps the fact that Dr. Lerner's analysis represents a recoding of the questionnaires and contains new correlations of the results lends it more validity. Nevertheless, the lack of Middle Eastern experience among the analysts handicapped them, since, among other things, they had no way of judging the degree to which the field interviewers' Middle Eastern origin biased the responses. Even the field supervisor played no part in the analyses.

The thesis of the book is that there is a predisposition among certain people to enlarge their view of the world and break with their traditional attitudes and life patterns. They are then led to seek exposure to the mass media of communications and to modern urban ways. The result of this exposure is to increase their "empathy," a special use of the term meaning the capacity to see the world from the point of view of another, to "see oneself in the other fellow's situation" (p. 50) and thus to break with traditional attitudes and life patterns. This capacity is thought to characterize modern society in greater measure than any previous society.

The tautological nature of the argument is concealed in the use of this special term. It is not an unusual pitfall, but one which sociologists are prone to ignore when trying to use psychological terms to examine social phenomena and thereby to employ essentially different levels of abstraction.

Dr. Lerner candidly admits that he intends to ignore another kind of theoretical problem: "human nature" versus "social determinism;" this is appropriate, since he does not believe in the primacy of either. Unfortunately, however, it obscures his reasoning about the relation between "empathy" and the "participant" society. The segmental character of modern society and its manifold compartmentalized allegiances do indeed require a flexible personality. But modern society is only indirectly participant, as witness the voting machines, the televising of professionally coached moral crusades, and the vicarious romances of radio serials. The empathy required of the "other directed" person is not a psychologically constructive characteristic; it is rather an epiphenomenon found among those whose capacity for personality integration has been overtaxed by exposure to dissociative tendencies in Western urban life. These concepts are, therefore, somewhat inappropriate in application to the Middle Eastern transitional phenomena.

The two-thirds of the book devoted to an analysis, country by country, of Middle Eastern society is, however, relatively fruitful. It describes with sureness and clarity many of the problems and strains. The theory, however, adds little to the analyses. The urban centers of the Middle East have always been the loci of transitional life styles. The presence of racial, religious, and ethnic minorities, the ebb and flow of cross-cultural contacts through commerce, war, and migration have affected the traditional patterns time and time again. Dr. Lerner even ignores the forces for consolidation of social position and for perpetuation of patterns which lie in the strong family and ethnic group ties. These ties still exist and their fundamental patterns are employed by the modernizing middle classes. The upwardly mobile, outward-looking Middle Easterner is very aware that, unless he aggressively manipulates every social contact, resource, opportunity, or influence at his disposal, he and his family risk falling behind economically and socially. Welding these individualistic motivations into a collective effort by means of political leadership and moral direction is the fundamental problem for Arab nationalism—a nationalism which, at present, does not derive from any profound sense of being one people. As Dr. Lerner mentions, class conflict and the rural-urban dichotomy, always strong in the Middle East, continue to undermine the effort toward unity and brotherhood.

The most important gap in Dr. Lerner's picture of the Middle East is lack of emphasis on the recognized social distinctions used by members of the society. The fictitious "man on the street," or "the man on the other end of mass media of communications," exists not *in vacuo* but as part of a social group, and he reacts to the mass media in terms of his group membership. In the Middle East the deracinated are not a group, but fall through the interstices of the fabric of social and economic life.

It is, nevertheless, refreshing to read a serious attempt to analyze the social problems of the

Middle East that takes into account the very real phenomena of social and political aspirations—aspirations sometimes deliberately evoked by the mass media of communications and sometimes arising out of an awareness of changes and political forces outside the area itself.

DALTON POTTER

American University at Cairo, New York

Land Reform and Development in the Middle East: A Study of Egypt, Syria and Iraq. By DOREEN WARRINER. London and New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1957. ix, 197 pp. $2.90.

This book maintains the high standards of scholarship of Miss Warriner's earlier studies in Middle Eastern economics. This time she devotes her attention to three major subjects: the agrarian reform in Egypt, private enterprise in Syria, and the investment of oil revenues and other monetary affairs of Iraq. Miss Warriner finds that only a combination of these three factors—agrarian reform, private enterprise, and a sound fiscal policy—can result in an effective improvement in the standard of living of the peasant population which forms the vast majority in each of the three countries discussed. This reviewer finds himself in general agreement with both Miss Warriner's premises and her conclusions. Specific comments can be confined to two points, one major and one minor. The major point is the question of resettlement of Palestinian refugees. On page 186 she argues that Iraq and Syria have no absorptive capacity for refugees in their farming economy. On the other hand on page 90 she discusses, as an example of a big entrepreneur, the efforts of Pierre Mamarbachi and states that labor shortage is one of his problems. On page 91 she states that the Najjar brothers have also found the shortage of labor a great obstacle in increasing the cultivation of their enormous holding. The question arises: why can't such major land owners employ refugees and thereby alleviate both their own labor shortage and the economic plight of the refugees?

The minor point pertains to Miss Warriner's remark that the state has retained the right to resume ownership of *miri* land left uncultivated. One can add here that the evidence of noncultivation used to be the nonpayment of the tithe: if a man did not cultivate his land he had, of course, no crops from which he could give the tithe. When the state agreed to commute the payment of the tithe from kind to cash, the issue of noncultivation lapsed for all practical purposes because the payment of cash tithe was no longer directly related to the actual annual cultivation of the land.

With all the changes taking place in the countries discussed, old attitudes persist. Miss Warriner notes that, for many, dignity and traditional status are still more important than money. Clearly, what is needed is to find a way in which the economic conditions of the people can be improved without thereby destroying age-old values which give content and zest to their lives.

RAPHAEL PATAI

Herzl Institute

Village Life in Northern India: Studies in a Delhi Village. By OSCAR LEWIS. With the assistance of VICTOR BARNOUW. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958. xiii, 384 pp. $7.50.

Professor Lewis' work is not strictly a monograph but rather, as the sub-title implies, a collection of essays upon various aspects of the village in which he worked for eight months. Despite the shortness of his period of work he had the help of an evidently able band of assistants and the book contains much well-located and detailed information. The pragmatic orientation of the work is very clear; the author was employed by the Ford Foundation to assist the Government of India Planning Commission. His chapters on factions, on economics, and on disease are obviously written for, and will undoubtedly be useful to, those engaged in social work in India and in what are now called the "backward countries."

However, one had hoped that Professor Lewis would recast his material in monographic form. This is not the bias of orthodoxy but is prompted by the realization, made all the more acute from a reading of the present work, that essays on single aspects only become really valuable when the basic interrelations are known. In his chapter on "Concepts of Disease Causation and Cure," the author rightly observes that anthropologists are concerned to show administrators that in re-educating illiterate societies the community as a whole—its general culture, its social and political structure—has to be understood first. The lack of such an understanding is aggravated by the fact that five out of the nine chapters have been published before, separately and with different audiences in mind. The result is inevitably disjointed. The chapter on factions, for example, which is very largely a reprint of the author's earlier pamphlet written for the Planning Commission, does

not, precisely because it is isolated, resolve the doubts which the earlier work raised. One had hoped that a later and fuller treatment would show the relations between factions in different villages and would interrelate factional activities with marriage interests in a society where marriage is a major source of conflict and prestige. But when we turn to the chapter on marriage we find that the author's focus of interest has shifted and the result is a very detailed and valuable account of the negotiations leading up to and through marriage, the rituals, the economic exchanges, the songs. Thus two closely related and striking elements of village life are separated. Again, presumably for the same reason, we are faced with a distribution of emphasis which can scarcely accord to the emphases of the people themselves. Forty pages on disease and only eleven on religion is disproportionate. These observations are all the more urgent when one can see that Professor Lewis has at his disposal a large body of material which would significantly increase our knowledge of an important area in northern India.

At the level of analysis it is more difficult for someone trained in the English school of social anthropology to make observations which would not be beside the point. Professor Lewis offers his book as a contribution to a comparative science of peasant societies. Anthropologists are, he says, now turning away from their almost exclusive interest in tribal society and paying more attention to the peasant. I do not see that the terms *peasant* and *tribal* are exclusive to each other nor in any way comparable at the same level; the first suggests to me an economic connotation while the latter suggests the political. Many of the so-called tribal societies can also be described as peasant and many peasant societies, notably the Jats of whom Professor Lewis writes, have a marked tribal organization. Neither term, it seems, has more than a general indicative value and both are rejected by the field-worker once they have served that initial, descriptive purpose. This Professor Lewis appears to feel himself for he closes the comparative analysis, with which he ends the book, as follows:

> One conclusion to be drawn . . . is that separate institutions . . . develop at different rates . . . in accord with particular historical circumstances. It is this factor which creates serious difficulties in the construction of holistic societal or cultural typologies which are not historically and regionally defined. This would also help explain how Tepoztlan and Rampur can be so similar in terms of economics and so different in terms of social organization.

Nobody writing within the widest limits of our discipline within the last twenty-five years is likely to quarrel with this observation but it does not argue well for the new comparative science.

One has no desire to appear ungracious. The detailed information which is printed here is valuable and for that we must be grateful. The lack of extended analysis and of any informing theoretical background make the book a much lesser thing than, in the circumstances, it might have been.

DAVID F. POCOCK
Oxford University, England

The Ashanti: a Proud People. By ROBERT A. LYSTAD. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1958. 212 pp. $5.00.

Despite its title, this book is a community study of the village of Goaso, in Western Ashanti, the somewhat indigestible kingdom in the heart of Ghana. Dr. and Mrs. Lystad were in Ghana for about a year, in 1949–50 and in Ashanti, especially in Goaso, for about eight months. It is on this experience that the present book is based. Dr. Lystad had written his book in an essentially popular style, for readers who know little or nothing about Africa. It should prove useful and entertaining, for he gives a good account of what it feels like to live in a modern West African village.

He begins with one chapter on Africa as a whole, and another on the geography and history of the Gold Coast (now Ghana). This is followed by a description of Goaso itself, which the reader can match with the excellent photographs in the center of the book. The chapter "Meet My Families" is about the matrilineal extended family households of the village and explains some of the changes and conflicts in family life and custom that have come about in recent times. This is followed by a description of the rites and customs of birth and death.

The central chapter of the book concerns the political order, in both its new and its old aspect. A democracy of sorts is quite old in Ashanti, despite the outward show of absolute power affected by the kings. Under European occupation the power of the king was increased but many of the old class distinctions were wiped out. Slavery was abolished, and literacy and wealth from trade came to count for more than high birth. The fact that Goaso grows and exports cocoa to the world market has had much to do with this development; moreover there is now a Ghana national government which is undermining the authority of the old chiefs.

In his chapter on religion, Lystad shows the astonishing eclecticism of the modern African village. Finally, the author speculates that Goaso will probably remain an agricultural community, tied ever more closely to a national society and to the world market.

This book is a very good example of its kind. It is a competent account of the everyday life of a community in an exotic part of the world, written with a sense of humor and with an eye to the present as well as to the ethnological past. It is therefore no criticism of this book in particular to say that eight months is not enough time for the study of an African community. Twenty-four months, *not* consecutive, are closer to what is required, and thirty months would be better. It takes the African elders a year to size up the foreigner and to decide that he is worthy of knowing the important things about the society. The anthropologist may need a year before he finds the real leaders. Nobody can achieve real proficiency in a west African tone language in less than eighteen months of work, and if one must see only through the eyes of an interpreter, one sees "through a glass darkly." A book written on the basis of less than a year's residence is necessarily couched in such generalized terms that many persons who have lived for a time in *some* African village will feel that given a good map, a dozen photos, and the census report, they could write the next such community study themselves without ever visiting the community in question.

ROBERT G. ARMSTRONG
Atlanta University

The Indians of British Columbia. By H. B. HAWTHORN, C. B. BELSHAW, S. M. JAMIESON. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press and the University of British Columbia, 1958. ix, 499 pp. $10.00.

All concerned in the production of this book are to be congratulated for the imagination with which the project was conceived and for the able manner in which it was carried out. The result is a volume which is a notable achievement for both interdisciplinary research and applied social science.

In 1954 the Canadian Department of Citizenship and Immigration commissioned the University of British Columbia to undertake what was called the Indian Research Project. Its object was to assess the present situation of the Indians of that Province and to obtain data and formulate specific recommendations which might provide a guide for future policy. Two social anthropologists, Dr. Hawthorn and Dr. Belshaw, and an economist, Dr. Jamieson, undertook to carry out the research and to produce the report. They were assisted by a number of graduate students who provided much of the factual information on present day life within the Indian reserves. From the field reports of these students, from their own research and from data provided by the Indian Affairs Branch and various other agencies which have been concerned with Indian welfare, the three authors have produced a detailed and scholarly picture of Indian life within the Province as it is affected by economic trends, official policy, and the attitude of the white residents of the area.

Since the primary focus of the study is upon Indian welfare, problems of economic adjustment are to the fore. A good half of the book is devoted to an examination of the status of the Indian in the economic life of the Province. Other chapters deal with demography, crime, law enforcement, social welfare, education, family organization, the political organization of bands, and federal and provincial policy relating to Indians. Interspersed throughout the book are specific recommendations for improving the lot of the Indian, and in the final chapters these are related to one another so that the implications of various proposed changes can be assessed in terms of the over-all program.

Although two of the authors are anthropologists, ethnographic details have been minimized and are referred to only where they are relevant in the context of the present. More stress is laid on the importance of the values held by many Indians in determining their response to development plans or to the situations within which they find themselves; these are contrasted with the values of administrators and other official figures who deal with Indians.

The Indians of British Columbia should appeal to a considerable audience. Its usefulness to the Canadian Indian Affairs Branch and to all those who must deal with Indians whether in British Columbia or elsewhere in Canada is obvious. It should also receive a thorough reading by those concerned with the Indians of the United States. It will also prove of value to scholars engaged in the study of general problems of ethnic minorities, social change, criminology, and applied research.

I know of no comparable study on the Indians of any region within the United States. Let us hope that one result of the publication of *The Indians of British Columbia* will be the commissioning of similar regional studies within this country for which the present book will prove an ideal blueprint.

E. COLSON
Boston University

The Puerto Ricans By CHRISTOPHER RAND. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. 178 pp. $3.75.

The author refers to himself as a "casual observer." Actually he is one of the star reporters of the *New Yorker*—in which much of the material in this book first appeared—and he spent many months collecting his material. His previous "beat" had been the Orient, and his articles and books on Eastern themes brought him a well-deserved reputation as a perceptive commentator on the strange ways of picturesque people. Some of the patronizing air implicit in that approach marred the original series, but has been eliminated in the book. The author's competence as an indefatigable journalistic investigator is supplemented by a real warmth of feeling for his subjects—New York's newest migrants—and by a gift for colorful phrases in describing the people and the situations in which they are involved.

The parallels between the immigrations of the past and the internal migration of United States citizens from Puerto Rico are ably drawn. The appearance of yet another ethnic group whose children suffer "second-generationitis" while the parents grope toward economic improvement and seek identity in hostile surroundings is movingly portrayed. Many of the "facts that everyone knows" about the Puerto Ricans are set straight, for example, the canard about a large proportion on relief. The bewilderment of the newcomer for whom life suddenly becomes tremendously complex, who is overwhelmed by a blizzard of forms and documents, is graphically communicated. The confusion caused by the differences between the customary placement in Spanish and English of father's and mother's family names is correctly seen by Rand as a considerable source of irritation and frustration, for both the migrant and his hosts. Attempts by unscrupulous landlords and plant managers to exploit the most recent newcomers, as they have their predecessor "green-horns," have been caught as have many other facets of Puerto Rican life in the metropolis.

The "casual observer" role does seem rather forced at times. Rand repeats the old misconception about the earlier nubility of girls from the tropics; he quotes an informant who is convinced that Puerto Ricans "can't stand pain;" he states that there are "550,000 Puerto Ricans" in New York City (when that number includes first and second generation). Further, he writes, "Another report I have heard is that a relatively small percentage of Puerto Rico's dark inhabitants—as against its light ones—are coming to New York, but this too is hard to verify" (even though the color selectivity of the migration has been demonstrated both by a special study and U. S. Census reports) and speaks of an alleged "tentative quality of this migration" (without giving any evidence for the ways in which the Puerto Rican migration differs from other internal migrations in ratio of gross to net movement). Perhaps the most disconcerting example of his reluctance to appear "scientific" is the sentence: "A knowledgeable Puerto Rican told me that five million Americans move from one state to another each year" (when the statement is based on a Census Bureau publication which this reviewer supplied the author!).

But enough carping! Rand's job is journalism —and he is splendid at it. If we sociologists could only write as entertainingly as Rand does, our more factual productions might have greater public impact.

CLARENCE SENIOR
Columbia University

Trends in Birth Rates in the United States Since 1870. By BERNARD OKUN. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1958. 203 pp. $3.50, paper.

Originally written as a dissertation, this book consists of three "essays." The first two are inductive analyses of the secular trends in birth ratios for whites and Negroes respectively in the United States since 1870. The third part is a review of several approaches to the study of fertility.

The first two essays are based on data from the Kuznets-Thomas Study of Population Redistribution and Economic Growth. The variables are: (a) the *crude birth ratio,* (children 0–4 to total population), (b) the *refined birth ratio,* (children 0–4 to women 15–44 or children 5–9 to women 20–49), (c) the proportion of women 15–44 in the total population, (d) "the proportion of women aged 20–29 among those aged 15–44," (e) "the proportion of foreign-born white women among all white women aged 15–44," and (f) the variables of geographic and urban-rural residence.

For whites and Negroes, Okun found that time changes in variables (c), (d), and (e) relating to age, sex, and nativity composition had no important relation to the secular declines in birth ratios. Furthermore, for the whites he found that "only a small part of the change in the birth ratio over time can be attributed to changes in the distribution of persons from one setting to another. Stated positively, the conclusion is that changes in the birth ratio are ascribable primarily to changes in the reproductive patterns of persons living in fixed environmental sub-divisions—rural and urban, rural-

farm and rural-nonfarm, large city and small" (pp. 14–15).

"In contrast to the findings for whites, our conclusion is that spatial shifts from rural to urban areas, small cities to large, and farms to small villages did contribute much to the decline in the Negro birth ratio" (p. 15).

The third essay discusses "levels of causality" in factors affecting fertility, and reviews several approaches to the study of trends in birth rates: the rational maximization model approach, times series analysis, cross-section analysis, the institutional approach, the interview and questionnaire techniques, and longitudinal analysis.

The book is a scholarly and valuable analysis. It points up the fact that findings established by cross-section studies do not necessarily apply to secular changes. As for minor criticisms this reviewer would mention: (a) "Birth Ratios" rather than "Birth Rates" should have been used in the title of the book. (b) The author is not fully correct in the statement "according to the 1950 Census report the age-specific fertility rates classified by urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm areas are generally higher for foreign-born than for native whites" (p. 50). (c) The third essay has no integral relation to the first two. It has the earmarks of a past seminar report or term paper which the author had on hand. (d) This reviewer's copy of the book became unstitched before the reading was completed. The author is blameless on this score but the reviewer submits that a 200-page paper bound book of this price should hold together for one reading.

CLYDE V. KISER
Milbank Memorial Fund

The Older Population of the United States. By HENRY D. SHELDON and CLARK TIBBITTS. Census Monograph Series. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958. London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd. xiii, 223 pp. $6.00.

A Classified Bibliography of Gerontology and Geriatrics. By NATHAN W. SHOCK. Supplement One 1949–1955. Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1958. xxviii, 525 pp. $15.00.

The Sheldon and Tibbitts volume is one of the series of Census Monographs designed to provide analysis of data collected by the 1950 census. The introductory and summary chapters, written by Tibbitts, set the stage for the study and attempt to bring together and interpret its findings. The seven intervening chapters by Sheldon deal with the following topics: Changing Age Structure; Geographic Distribution; Age and Employment; Age and Occupation; Marital Status, Family Cycle, Living Arrangements, and Age; Housing; and Age and Income. Appendices A through G present statistical data appropriate to each chapter.

One of the contributions made by this monograph is to challenge the validity of certain ideas generally accepted uncritically by students of social gerontology. To cite a few examples: the data and analysis indicate that (1) immigration and reduced mortality, *per se,* have contributed less to the numerical increase of the aged since 1900 than commonly supposed; (2) occupations usually thought of as havens for older workers, or as especially suitable for reemployment of retired persons, do not offer as good opportunity as do service occupations; (3) under present hiring and employment practices, scarcely more than ten per cent of the retiree "labor reserve" would be able or willing to accept employment if it were available; (4) the proportion of elders in various states and regions is largely the function of in- or outmigration of younger people, not of the retired population.

Overall conclusions as to the place of older people in our society merely restate the facts and figures which are already known and used widely. These concern inadequacy of income, scarcity of available work opportunities, deteriorating family circumstances, inferior housing conditions, and failing health. As much as it might be desired, Sheldon does not answer all the unanswered questions. In some of the analyses the author stops short of conclusions. In these cases it is not clear whether the information is not available in the census data at all or whether the author did not have the techniques for analyzing the data which are on file. It is certain this monograph will serve as a valuable and easy source of information for those who use census materials in writing and research.

Shock's Supplement contains nearly 16,000 references published between 1949 and 1955, approximately 2,000 fewer than appeared in the first *Classified Bibliography.* The general arrangement in the Supplement is essentially the same as that employed in the 1951 edition. A few minor changes have been made in the system of classification of sub-categories. The references are classified in sub-categories under the general headings of Gerontology, General Orientation; Biology of Aging; Organ Systems; Geriatrics; Psychological Processes; Social and Economic Aspects; and Popular Articles (General). The *Bibliography* includes a List of Journals, a Subject Index, and an Author Index. *The Journal of Gerontology* continues to publish references to research as they appear, under the

same classification as that used in the *Bibliography.*

It seems inevitable that errors should appear in such a work as this. Although the editor states that dual authors are both listed in the Index of Authors, J. W. Combs is not given a listing for a contribution with K. Davis (item 13805). In the "Abbreviations of Journals Cited" there are several omissions, for example, *Social Forces* and *Marriage and Family Living.* Admitting the difficulties involved in deciding what books and articles to include, it is surprising to see a general text in social problems (*Social Problems* by T. L. Smith) included, and difficult to account for the omission of an article by R. B. Vance, "The Ecology of our Aging Population."

In spite of these errors and omissions, which are probably few, this Classified Bibliography is, without a doubt, of inestimable value to anyone who wishes to study in this area. Dr. Shock is to be commended for this outstanding contribution.

JOSEPH T. DRAKE

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Sociology and the Field of Education. Prepared for the American Sociological Society by ORVILLE G. BRIM, JR. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958. 93 pp. $1.00, paper.

Sociology and the Field of Education is the third in the series of studies prepared for the American Sociological Society and published by the Russell Sage Foundation on the application of sociological theory and research findings to the problems of the professional practitioner who deals with the everyday problems of our society. The two previously published bulletins in the on-going series were: *Sociology and the Field of Mental Health* by John A. Clausen, and *Sociology and the Field of Corrections* by Lloyd E. Ohlin. Additional bulletins are scheduled to appear in this series.

Brim focuses his analysis upon two major objectives: (1) a systematic review of the research studies that have utilized sociological concepts and theories in the study of educational institutions, and (2) areas of education that have been neglected, in large part, by sociologists who have done research in this field. Organizing his materials primarily in terms of the familiar Malinowskian conception of institutional analysis, Brim discusses: the aims of education for educators, students, and society; the allocation of money and other material resources to education; the recruitment of personnel to achieve the aims of education; institutional roles and how those who function in them perform their roles; and the intended and unintended functions education has in our society. Published and to-be-published research is reviewed and evaluated in successive chapters. The studies cited are arranged by subjects in the selected bibliography. The articulation of the conceptual framework, the bibliography, the discussion, and the evaluation of the different studies is extremely well done.

Brim has performed an important service for sociologists interested in many aspects of education as an institution in our society. His evaluation of the many pieces of research reviewed demonstrates the high standards he has used in his analysis. He states in a straightforward way what we as sociologists have and have not accomplished in our application of sociological theories and concepts to each of his categories of institutional analysis. The reader is told succinctly what Brim considers to be some needed next steps. His suggestions might well be the points of departure for a series of future studies. Graduate students interested in testing theoretical points in prospective dissertations will find *Sociology and the Field of Education* a rich lode.

It is always a pleasure to review a piece of research wherein the writer shows the reader the clarity of his thought. When an author demonstrates he has been thinking critically and constructively he has made a contribution to the reader's thought content. This reviewer believes Brim has provided the profession with a benchmark for future research in educational sociology. This bulletin should have a wide circulation among sociologists and educators.

AUGUST B. HOLLINGSHEAD

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Negroes and Medicine. By DIETRICH C. REITZES. Cambridge: Harvard University Press for the Commonwealth Fund, 1958. xxxi, 400 pp. $7.00.

A better title for this book would be "Negro Physicians and Integration." The author focuses major attention on the quality of Negro physicians and organizes the data around three issues: levels of achievement among Negro medical students, the increase in the number of board-certified Negro specialists, and the integration of Negro doctors into the staffs of predominantly white hospitals. Though the author asserts that "the quality of the health care provided to the Negro population is directly related to the number and quality of Negro physicians available to serve a given community," he does not provide a public health index or other measuring rod to test

this assertion; patient populations receive only incidental attention throughout the volume.

On the first issue, Reitzes finds that Negro students in Eastern white medical schools have the highest scores on the Medical College Admission Test while in other white schools they have notably lower scores, and still lower ones in the two major Negro medical colleges. Likewise the scores of Negro students from white undergraduate colleges are higher than those from Negro undergraduate schools.

Secondly, he shows that while the Negroes constitute 2.2 per cent of all physicians, "Negroes make up less than 1 per cent of all board certified specialists in the United States today." In 14 cities intensively studied by Reitzes, the percentage of white physicians who were board-certified specialists ranged from 23.6 (Gary) to 61.2 (Washington, D. C.), while the corresponding range for Negroes was 0 per cent (Gary and Atlanta) to 25.9 per cent (Washington, D. C.). Unanswered question: Is the white ratio a normative one and does it apply without qualification to Negro physicians?

As for the third or integration issue, Gary, Indiana, leads all the fourteen communities with 82.4 per cent of the Negro physicians affiliated with predominantly white hospitals; the lowest figure for a non-Southern city (if, indeed, it is) is Washington with only 3.6 per cent, while Atlanta, Nashville, and New Orleans all rate zero. The chapters devoted to individual cities, exploring the reasons for the number of specialists or the amount of integration, are highly informative and will repay careful study by students of the sociology of occupations, institutional change, and race relations. Reitzes' assessment of the variables affecting integration in the last chapter is done with laudable caution and restraint. Voluminous appendices and tables enable the reader to get detailed data on all aspects of the subject, though he must do this without benefit of an index. This book is a genuine landmark in evaluating the present status of the medical profession among Negroes.

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The Psychiatric Hospital as a Small Society. By WILLIAM CAUDILL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press for the Commonwealth Fund, 1958. xxii, 406 pp. $6.50.

This work is an impressive *tour de force*, demonstrating the interrelationship of theory and empirical work. As such, it constitutes a significant contribution to the sociology of institutions or social systems. The notion that the psychiatric hospital is a social system in miniature is hardly news to social scientists. In this sense the psychiatric hospital is analogous to the school, prison, factory, and the like.

Caudill has made his contribution through the careful analysis of the recorded behavior forms and events that go to make up the daily life of the hospital. In this effort he has provided such a convincing picture of the way the hospital functions and of the manner in which its functioning effects the patients, that his research not only supports but advances previous analyses of the mental hospital as reported by Rowland, Jones, Stanton and Schwartz, and Belknap.

In his collection of data Caudill utilized mainly observational and interviewing techniques—although he also handles some of his qualitative data through quantitative analysis. First, he collected observations for describing the various role groups in the hospital—staff physicians, residents, nurses, and patients. Secondly, he aimed to trace the flow of communication through the hospital and the clarification, omission, distortion, and addition which occurred during the process. Thirdly, he attempted to make explicit the interrelation of events occurring over time at all levels in the hospital. A fourth objective proved to be a concern for the extent to which the sub-systems within the hospital functioned in a compatible manner. These aims led to three separate studies forming the central core of the research. The first study deals with daily observations of what went on at the various social levels of the hospital; it shows the interrelation of these events in terms of the hospital experience of one patien and follows the movement of these events into a collective disturbance which brought about an increasing isolation of patients from staff members. A second study attempts to probe the perceptions of hospital life held by members of the different role groups; this was done by interviewing them in connection with specially prepared pictures of hospital life. The third study is a qualitative and quantitative analysis of a five month period of staff conferences, the purpose being to observe the interaction between role groups as well as the flow of communication at the conferences.

The data, as collected, analyzed, and interwoven with theory, are productive of numerous findings, insights, and hypotheses which not only will contribute to a more valid theory of social systems but also should contribute to the solution of certain practical problems for the physical and social organization of the hospital in relation to therapeutic goals.

In his analyses, Caudill shows how the informal structure is registered on the formal

structure, and how the latter, in turn, often helps to block the informal channels of communication. He makes much of the fact that the hospital structure is a case of "blocked mobility" where a person cannot get out of his role group, and of the fact that the "covert emotional structure" must be grasped to understand what is happening in the hospital.

He shows in a systematic fashion the sources to which the patient may turn for satisfaction of his needs—doctors, nurses, physical space of the ward, other patients, and himself. In trying to show the relationship between utilization of these sources and therapeutic progress (p. 64), his evidence points to the fact that the patients who use most of the sources make better therapeutic progress. However, here and throughout the report, Caudill never distinguishes patients in terms of the severity of illness—a factor which certainly must have some relationship to the utilization of the above sources.

In this hospital, psychotherapy was the central treatment device. Here, Caudill amasses evidence to show—as he did in his earlier study of a psychiatric ward where he assumed the role of a patient (a technique that he does not now think should be used)—that the behavior of patients must often be explained in relation to the immediate social situation confronting them rather than in terms of patients' psychodynamics. This point is made again when he shows how staff conflicts and tensions bring about increased disturbance of patients—a point similar to that made by Stanton and Schwartz in their study of the mental hospital.

While theory has been well served by this research, its implications for practice, while clearly implied, are less certain. This question about practice is reflected in the idea of the therapeutic community. While Caudill, in his research, does not specifically point to such a community, one certainly gets the idea that his research and other researches of this character can make a contribution toward the organization of a type of institutional structure that is essential for the quicker recovery of patients. There are a lot of hidden problems here; perhaps the most significant one is the assumption that there is some social arrangement that will have an encouraging effect upon patients, irrespective of the kinds of illnesses they have. This is somewhat analogous, in a reverse fashion, to the argument that has often been used with respect to the treatment of the delinquent child: we say that treatment is likely to be ineffective if we are forced to send the child back to his old home and neighborhood environment. Now there is something to be said for the position—a point with which Caudill does not concern himself—that an institutional structure with open channels of communication and with participation on the part of the various group members in the decision-making process, should contribute to a high level of employee satisfaction and morale. That such a social structure may be valuable for the employees is no doubt true, but we are on uncertain ground when we think that it might contribute to the speedier recovery of mental patients. One might note that the very idea of a therapeutic community makes certain assumptions about the etiology of mental illness. Here, mental illness is to be explained in terms of psychodynamic and perhaps social factors. Hence it follows that a so-called healthy social structure will correct or counteract these factors in the patients. Caudill himself notes that the hospital culture provides an environment for the release of primitive instinctive behavior and for an attitude of acceptance of this behavior on the part of the patient group. Would the so-called therapeutic community make such releases more difficult?

In a final chapter Caudill discusses the possibilities for a clinical anthropology—although what he has to say here could apply equally to people who label themselves as sociologists or social psychologists. He makes an excellent case for the role of a social scientist in the mental hospital and, apparently leaning in the direction of Professor Radcliffe-Brown, calls upon the anthropologist to be concerned with the development of a comparative study of social systems, rather than merely with the culture of a given social structure.

All in all, Caudill's work is a valuable contribution to the literature. The professionals in the field should await eagerly his report on his studies of the hospitals in Japan and their comparison with comparable social systems in the United States.

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The Call Girl: A Social and Psychoanalytic Study. By HAROLD GREENWALD. New York: Ballantine Books, 1958. 245 pp. $4.50.

The author of this book is a social psychologist who is also executive director of the Association for Applied Psychoanalysis. Psychoanalysts have paid little attention to the dynamics of prostitutes, probably because the great majority of these women never seek therapy. Dr. Greenwald became interested in this particular type of prostitute when several girls came to him for treatment. He studied six psycho-

analytically and twenty by the interview method. Of the latter, ten were obtained by three specially trained call girls and the other ten by the author himself.

"The call girls in this book are the aristocrats of prostitution. They live in the most expensive residential sections of our large cities; they dress in rich, good taste. They charge a minimum of twenty dollars per sexual contact." Unlike her less successful sisters of the street, the call girl is usually better educated and thus better able to explain some of her motivations.

As the author readily admits, this is an exploratory study and its limitations are obvious. In spite of its sub-title, the book includes little on the social aspects of such behavior: fifteen pages on the social and professional life of the call girl, six pages on social factors influencing occupational choice, and passing reference to the social sciences in a brief conclusion. Actually, the call girl is a *social* type. Several authorities have suggested that present-day prostitutes are more frequently individual girls operating on their own rather than members of organized houses. This change seems related to such factors as the greater efficiency of municipal government and the increase in hotel living. There is no support for the belief that the *motivations* of call girls exhibit distinctive patterns differing from those of house girls or other types of prostitutes.

Part IV is devoted to "The Men in Their Lives." This includes brief chapters on the pimps and the "Johns" or clients. Perhaps fifty to seventy-five per cent of the call girl's clientele consists of occasional Johns. The girls in this study estimated that between seventy-five and ninety per cent of all their clients did not wish normal intercourse but preferred oral sex. If this is generally true, it underlines emphatically the male desire for sexual variety.

The case studies, though few in number, are interesting enough but the final recommendations are somewhat naive. The author quotes Kinsey but misses a major finding of that research: in recent years there have been reduced frequencies of male contact with prostitutes because of the increase in contacts with women who are not prostitutes. His suggestions for reform are aimed primarily at preventing girls from making this occupational choice. Yet what of the demand? In spite of the long-term trend away from the professional prostitute, it seems likely that a great deal of male demand will remain. Polly Adler expressed it well: "Prostitution exists because men will pay for sexual gratification and, whatever men are willing to pay for, someone will provide."

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Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences, Volume V. Edited by WARNER MUENSTERBERGER and SIDNEY AXELRAD. New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1958. 297 pp. $6.00.

The continuing purpose of this series is to apply psychoanalytic insights to the study of society. This volume contains eleven articles in three sections (psychobiography, communication, and anthropology and religion). Space permits only a brief characterization of a few of the articles.

A paper by Saul Rosenzweig concerning Josef Popper-Lynkeus, who adumbrated Freud's dream theory, points out how limited certain social coordinates of psychotherapy can be. The cathartic and confessional methods are tied to the existing society or its idealistic version; in a communication (interpersonal) method, on the other hand, the interdependence of culture and ego are seen as evolving and not static.

In "Goethe's Attitude Towards Science," K. R. Eissler quotes from essays and letters to show that Goethe developed paranoid ideas concerning Newton, these ideas being related to problems of Goethe's childhood. Later these were repressed but left his genius without a blemish; thus the process was beneficial to his creativity. It is hard to accept this happy ending, for a repressed illness always has its price. On the other hand, in "Why Booth Killed Lincoln," Philip Weissman argues that Booth developed a core of paranoid ideas about his brother and father from childhood that were not repressed and which were solely responsible for the assassination. Weissman oversimplifies by completely ignoring all sociological factors.

Five articles comprise the book's second section, on communication. Irving L. Janis' paper on emotional inoculation against situations of external danger is an outstanding contribution to this volume in terms of methodological clarity and verification techniques. Intensive case studies using psychoanalytic depth procedures are stated to be the origin of his tentative hypothesis which is then checked by more rigorous methods of systematic correlational studies and controlled experiments. Janis studied the impact of surgical procedures on patients in relation to their preoperative anxieties and the type of information they had been given beforehand. Those persons who showed a relative absence of preoperative fear were more likely to display reactions of anger and intense resentment during convalescence.

An article on the Army-McCarthy hearings by Gerhart D. Wiebie, while interesting, does not have factual substance for its conclusions.

The understanding of superego and ego ideal formation in childhood is difficult enough without interpreting opinion polls in terms of childhood training patterns. Undoubtedly, there is a connection, but this author does not trace one in a reliable fashion. The paper is naive politically and historically.

Richard Sterba's article on "Some Psychological Factors in Pictorial Advertising" is a result of reflections while driving to and from his office and observing the billboards on the way. It has a paucity of originality, restates Freud, makes no reference to the complicated field of motivational research, and has no comments about the experimental work being done on perception and dream processes.

In the final section, Geza Roheim's paper on the western tribes in central Australia and their frank, apparently salubrious, sexual life is a revealing study which substantiates psychoanalytic findings. However, there is no reference to the work of men such as Kluckhohn, or Whiting and Child, who also attempt to use psychoanalytic concepts in systematic analysis of various cultures.

In general, this volume suffers from a lack of familiarity on the part of the psychoanalysts with the rigorous techniques of the social scientists. The validity of psychoanalytic insights is based upon detailed, time-consuming work, which is repeatedly verified in the clinical setting. It behooves the psychoanalyst to take the data of the social scientist seriously and to resist the temptation to generalize from clinic to society. Free, wild analysis evokes resistance to the valuable insights of psychoanalysts; unfortunately the editors have not systematically presented articles that avoid this danger.

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Readings in Social Psychology. Edited by ELEANOR E. MACCOBY, THEODORE M. NEWCOMB, and EUGENE L. HARTLEY. Third Edition. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1958. xi, 674 pp. $6.75.

Ordinarily, third editions rate minor notice. But this work, taken in conjunction with the first edition published in 1947, can be viewed as the measure of a decade. The question is: What does this new model tell us about ten years, more or less, of post-war social psychology?

As one might expect, the signs of important change can be detected in the new edition's surface features. Five features in particular seem representative of the current trend.

1. There are 36 references, in the index, under the heading "perception," while there were only four such references in 1947. We have gone, it would seem, through phases dominated by the notions of instinct and attitude, and are currently preoccupied with social perception. This preoccupation shows itself in varied ways—for example, in the blurring of distinctions between perception and commitment (with beliefs, intentions, and the like, being treated as percepts), and in the selectivity of the readings (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee's voting study being represented by a selection titled, "Political Perception"). It seems fair to wonder whether this dominance is dictated by intrinsic theoretical demands or whether we will repeat the pattern of the attitude period, moving on to a new conceptual style when disenchantment with perception sets in.

2. This volume nicely reflects the "supported" character of contemporary social psychology. The 1947 edition carried but two footnotes acknowledging grants-in-aid, while in the present edition there are roughly 20 such acknowledgments. I cannot help recalling Kenneth Rexroth's bitter remark to the effect that the foundations have made the researchers into a new exploiting class: "... they toil not, neither do they spin. They have projects." ("Vivisection of a Poet," *The Nation*, December 14, 1957, p. 452). It may well be, as Rexroth implies and as others have argued, that the trend toward support is partly responsible for the adoption of a "safe" perceptual focus. The problems of social change, of political power and bureaucracy, of alienation and anomie, of trust and distrust, are certainly not centers of attention. I am not advancing an argument for a radical social psychology, but for a keener awareness of the distinction between a "theory" about society and conformity to it.

3. The cover itself is a symbol of change. The 1947 volume is bound in a plain and noncommital grey, while the current edition is decorated with the diagrams (circle, wheel, etc.) originated by Bavelas for the study of communication nets. This statistical-experimental commitment on the cover is reflected in the book's content. Ten of the new selections are taken from our major exponent of tight experimental reportage, *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. The clearest evidence of change is found in the section on social roles, where all of the more discursive analyses (e.g., Sutherland's "The Professional Thief," or Waller on rating and dating) have been replaced by more quantitative studies.

Being myself committed, on the whole, to a similar kind of rigor, I do not wish to decry the general trend; but I am certain that the change is a mixed blessing. More than twenty

years ago, Newcomb himself (along with the Murphys) moralized against the then-popular, but superficial, experimental studies in attitude change: "Experimental ingenuity can surely be expended along the lines of our most important hypotheses" (*Experimental Social Psychology*, p. 972). The moral applies as well now as then, for in the switch away from work based on informal observation and interview the replacements too often have the appearance of rigor but lack intellectual punch—in short, the cover is taken too literally.

4. There is one reference in the index to "situation." On the whole, this volume indicates that we are about where we were on the nature and measurement of the situational aspect of human behavior. Where we were was spelled out almost ten years ago by Leonard Cottrell in his presidential address on neglected problems in social psychology: "The neglected question is essentially one of how we can precisely define the situations to which we refer the behavior of individuals or groups" (*American Sociological Review*, 15 [December, 1950], p. 711).

There may be some unfairness in these remarks, since many of the papers deal, in one way or another, with situational aspects—for example, the several studies of "situational stress," or, for that matter, the classic "social climates" experiment. But though there are such studies, there is very little concern with the conceptualization and measurement of the situation as such. It is here, it seems to me, that sociologically-oriented social psychologists have probably registered their most significant failure, for this kind of situational analysis should be an integral part of the sociological enterprise.

5. The references to "role" are considerably expanded, a fact which should come as no surprise to a reading audience that has become familiar with the role conflicts (and perceptions, I might add) of nurses, ministers, chiropractors, agricultural agents, funeral directors, and (most recently) professors. Opinions will differ sharply on the question of whether this recent invigoration of the role concept signifies that the Meadian view, after a long period dominated more by argument than discovery, has finally found a viable research direction. If it is to be so argued, an important requirement is that the descriptive interest that has characterized this literature be supplanted by more predictive interests. The general hollowness, and decline, of attitude research followed from a double failure—first, the unclarity in conception (as seen, for example, in the uncertainty as to whether the reference was to expectancies, preferences, neurologies, or responses), and second, the failure to move beyond the depiction of group norms or the correlation among scales (LaPiere's pioneer study of attitude and behavior, though frequently cited, was not widely imitated). A similar sterility may attend the role-self studies of today, if the double trouble that afflicted attitude work is not taken seriously.

Obviously, in presenting a review of the field rather than the book, I have shifted attention away from specific selections, many of which are individually meritorious. Obviously, too, there are other ways to assess social psychology—for example, through an examination of the root assumptions that have been with us for a long time or have changed along the way. Thus, though the entire section on the frustration-aggression hypothesis has been removed in this edition, I do not think this signals any basic revision of the "hydraulic" assumptions involved in such popular notions as catharsis, substitution, depth and surface motivations, and the like. But this is no time to begin another review; the reader, having (hopefully) been appropriately motivated and having no space limitations, can carry on in a framework of his own choosing.

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Methods of Research in the Behavioral Sciences. By THOMAS C. MCCORMICK and ROY G. FRANCIS. New York: Harper & Bros., 1958. ix, 244 pp. $4.50.

Prior to his untimely death, Professor McCormick prepared the outline of this book and developed many of the chapters. The work was edited and several chapters completed by Professor Francis. The Preface asserts that the work was written for students rather than instructors and as a guide for general courses in research methods.

Essentially, the book presents a series of essays on social science research, including discussions of choice of research problems, study design, library methods, personal documents, measurements, surveys and interviews, sampling, tabulation and graphing, tests and measures of relationships, and research reports. An attempt was made to review research problems and methods in serial order from the inception of a research project to the formal presentation of findings and conclusions. There is much to be said for this order of presentation, but the impact of the book will be hampered by its rambling conversational style and the unfortunate redundancies which make it read like a transcription of a series of classroom lectures.

Students will be greatly aided by review of the sound commonsense arguments dealing with

non-technical matters such as library sources, personal documents, survey data, and methods of reporting. However, the value of the book is severely restricted because of incomplete or inadequate conceptualization of some common research problems and procedures. For example, the discussion of *ex post facto* design and matching techniques seems to lack the logical rigor of many standard works or even the much earlier sociological writings of Chapin and Greenwood (Ch. 3). Again, the discussion of ranking, rating, scoring, scaling, and indexing methods (Ch. 5) fails to make sharp and consistent distinctions among the processes of enumeration, quantification, and measurement. Moreover, the discussion of sampling (Ch. 7) is based on a rather loose interpretation of "confidence limits." It is asserted that a sample statistic "plus and minus twice the standard error will provide two limits within which the parameter value may be expected '95 times out of 100'" (p. 140). This assertion, of course, is strictly valid only if certain population parameters are known. Other instances of invalid implication or incomplete analysis can be found in the more technical discussions of measurement, sampling, and correlation.

In all probability the technical limitations of the book are due to the brevity of the argument and the attempt to avoid formal or mathematical notation wherever possible. Perhaps formal adequacy and readability for beginning students are contradictory goals in this type of work. In any case the book provides a good outline of research problems and competent discussions of many issues that must be resolved in any research project. However, the more technical discussions probably will require considerable elaboration on the part of the instructor who uses the book as a research text.

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Introduction to Difference Equations. With illustrative examples from Economics, Psychology, and Sociology. By SAMUEL GOLDBERG. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958. xii, 260 pp. $6.75.

There is a certain writing on the wall of that structure which we call sociology. With this book Professor Goldberg has added a full sentence, possibly a paragraph, to those lines. This is the most recent addition to a small but growing set of works in modern mathematics for social scientists. Professor Goldberg's pointed exposition together with his carefully chosen illustrations add considerable force to the belief that sociologists can no longer ignore mathematics as a potentially powerful tool both of theory and research.

The book is a luxuriously expanded and extensively revised version of a monograph prepared in 1954 for the S.S.R.C. Committee on Mathematical Training and used in the Council's subsequent summer institutes in Mathematics for Social Scientists. The revision was aimed at softening the shock sometimes engendered by encountering hard mathematics. As a result of this, the reader who is equipped with little more than a perfunctory knowledge of elementary mathematics can master the crucial first one hundred pages. These pages, covering three chapters, include a preliminary discussion of the operators Δ and E, a formal development of difference equations, and several examples from psychology (such as the Bush-Mosteller and Estes learning models) and economics (such as Metzler's analysis of inventory cycles and Boulding's model of national income in an expanding economy). The remaining pages, comprising two chapters, develop the general linear difference equation model and treat selected topics such as equilibrium and stability, generating functions and matrix solutions. To follow these chapters in adequate detail requires some knowledge of matrices and determinants, differential equations and trigonometry. Taken together, these chapters may comprise the outstanding introduction to difference equations in print. Certainly it is an ideal text, together with those of Kemeny, Snell and Thompson, Hardy, and a few others, for the social scientist who wishes to treat himself to an introduction to mathematics.

At the risk of appearing to carp about minutiae, it should be noted that the title is rather misleading. The illustrative examples from sociology are so few in number and so brief as hardly to merit mention in the title. Anderson's stochastic model of time changes in attitudes is discussed briefly and mention is made of possible difference equation applications in panel studies, but except for a few footnotes, this is all. Of course this lack is not the fault of the author, but reflects instead the virtually complete failure of sociologists to use the powerful theory of difference equations in their analyses. This failure is particularly unfortunate in that it does not appear to be a consequence of the variables which sociologists study. Difference equations offer a tool for the analysis of functions defined on a discrete ordered set of points, ordinarily points in time. Now certainly many sociological variables are at least implicitly of this sort. The sacred-secular continuum, the family cycle frame of reference, and the cohort concept in demography exem-

plify a few. If sociologists are to formalize their discipline and create a more rigorous, cumulative, and accretive body of theory, extensive use of mathematical models such as these certainly should be considered.

ROBERT MCGINNIS
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The Unified Factor Model: Its Position in Psychometric Theory and Application to Sociological Alcohol Study. By YRJO AHMAVAARA AND TOUKO MARKKANEN. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, Distributors for the Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, 1958. 187 pp. Sw.Kr. 18:—, paper.

Intraclass Correlation and the Analysis of Variance. By ERNEST A. HAGGARD. With an Appendix by HARI C. GUPTA. New York: Henry Holt & Co. (Dryden Press), 1958. 171 pp. $2.90.

As its extensive title suggests, the Ahmavaara-Markkanen volume is in two parts: "A treatise on Psychometric Models" by Ahmavaara, and "On the Sociological Theory of Alcohol in Terms of the Unified Factor Analysis Model" by Markkanen. Part I presents a discussion of measure theory and model building, and a brief review of the unified factor model. It is evidently the purpose of this part to show that (1) factor analysis is a form of Hilbertian analysis, and (2) Hilbertian analysis is permissible when data are ordinal. The result is a claim that factor analysis is the most general form of analysis applicable to sociology and psychology.

The discussion of measuring and model building is a clear, interesting statement which can be understood without mathematical training. Equally clear, though with some knowledge of matrix algebra needed, is the brief review of factor analysis including the third step (Ahmavaara's contribution) of transformation analysis. This third step would seem to hold considerable promise as an analytic technique. The discussion is general; it would not serve as a text for those without background in factor analysis.

Both Guttman's component anlaysis and his radex are summarily dismissed as being based on conventions rather than empirical data. Regarding component analysis, the charge has some merit. Dismissing the radex is more questionable, however, since it is no more conventional or arbitrary than the typical factor analysis models. One serious criticism remains: Hilbertian analysis notwithstanding, ordinal data are not appropriate for factor analysis in general. As Dr. Ahmavaara states, "The squares of lengths and the scalar products change when the metrics of the scales involved in functions f are changed." These lengths and scalar products, however, affect communalities, factor scores, correlations, etc. The result is uncertainty (not complete arbitrariness, of course) as to the solutions. Perhaps under specifiable conditions ordinality would be appropriate, but not in general.

Part II is primarily illustrative of the application of the model to sociological data (an investigation of alcohol usage in rural Finland). As an illustration, it is a painstakingly complete study of the factor solution and a detailed analysis of the user (of alcohol) group by classifications such as age and marital status. Significant sociological information might be found here, but the form of the data and their idiographic nature make the process rather than the results more valuable. To show the invariance of factor results, incidentally, a comparison is made between users and total sample. Since the users comprise 87 per cent of the total, such invariance is hardly surprising.

In the preface to the second volume, Professor Haggard states that his book began as a one or two page note and finally became so extensive that some topics not yet fully worked out had to be omitted. This "confession" alone should suffice to make the book welcome. It is a careful examination of a little used but potentially valuable measure, without the endless elaborations which sometimes obscure basic information.

With the exception of a small amount of biometric and psychometric work (the latter only recently), intraclass correlation has been grossly neglected. In the present volume it is shown that the statistic can be computed directly from the analysis of variance table. Its properties are examined to show its superiority over other, more common, statistics for work such as reliability studies or cases where data are inherently indistinguishable within classes. Illustrations are also presented of the use of R, the intraclass correlation coefficient, for profile analysis and for ranked data. The latter, unfortunately, assumes equal rank intervals, as do most statistical operations on ranks, but the assumption is not explicitly stated.

Good general features of the book are numerous, including a glossary of symbols, and a separate statement of proofs in the appendix by Hari Gupta. Such separation facilitates continuity in the text.

I feel that the presentation of a formula for $\bar{k}$ (k_i = number of individuals in each class) without explanation was unfortunate. Also, an intermediate step or two in proofs B and C showing the manner of rewriting the numerator would help the average reader. Two errors appear in the proofs (presumably printing errors): in B and C the summation over 1 should be through k, not c; in proof E the relation $S_B - S_W$ should read $2\Sigma X_i Y_i - C$, not $2\Sigma X_i Y_i = C$.

ROBERT K. LEIK
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Position and Subject-matter of Criminology: Inquiry Concerning Theoretical Criminology. By Dr. H. BIANCHI. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1956. viii, 216 pp. 12. guilders.

This book is likely to be of considerable interest to theorists in the field of crime and delinquency. It is written from a philosophic position quite antithetical to the positivistic tradition which has dominated criminological research and theorizing in the United States. In fact it offers a direct criticism of this tradition by utilizing conceptual orientations drawn from Christian theology, existentialism, and phenomenological anthropology

The author regards criminology as an independent science with two levels of subject-matter. At one level the psychological and social sciences contribute in a multi-disciplinary fashion to a science of theoretical and applied criminology whose subject-matter is defined by an "elliptical" relation between "personality" and "criminal behavior" in which both poles are primary and of equal importance. In this usage, "personality" is meant to indicate all social and psychic aspects of man taken as related to his criminal conduct. The concept of "criminal behavior," as well as indicating the act itself, contains implicit reference to various normative features of the social and cultural situation within which the criminal act occurs. In this definition of the subject-matter of criminology, the author has simply recognized as valid the contributions typically made to the understanding of criminal acts by the various psychological and social sciences. His approach at this level is not much different from that widely encountered in professional journals devoted to criminological topics.

The real difficulty arises in his efforts to define the second and higher level of subject-matter which his independent science of criminology must embrace. At this level the subject-matter is defined by the concepts "person" and "crime" viewed as primary poles of attention in elliptical relationship to one another. The term "person" refers to a "religious, philosophical, ethical, metaphysical concept—'man as the image of God'" (p. 165). In the author's view it indicates the "totality" of man in a way not reached by the term "personality." In regard to crime, the author states: "In plain terms crime is to be understood as a deed provoking specified norms which are given by God in a cosmonomic order" (p. 120). Clearly, in this conception criminology is something more than an empirical science. Crime cannot be understood apart from religious norms. In his definition of crime the author makes it clear that crime is the expression of a deficient design of the world by which man denies his own potential for self-realization. He draws heavily on phenomenological discussion of problems of guilt, being, genuineness, etc. He takes criminologists to task for neglecting the extensive literature and experience of religious groups with the problem of sin in view of the light it might shed on normative violation and problems of control.

The author is primarily interested in demonstrating the inadequacy of any science of criminology which does not include subject-matter drawn from this second level. However, he does not succeed in showing how it may be scientifically treated. There is no discussion, for example, of how the norms "given by God in a cosmonomic order" are to be grasped. Presumably one must rely on revelation or religious authority. Furthermore, it is quite unclear what kind of theory and research a criminology focussed at this level would produce.

Despite the polemic nature of the presentation arising from the religious convictions of the author, the book exhibits scholarship and philosophic understanding rarely encountered in the field of criminology. For this reviewer, the most significant contribution of the book lies in the renewed emphasis placed on the study of the normative features of situations in which crime occurs. It does not seem necessary to posit a system of absolute norms in order to derive increased knowledge for criminology from much more detailed inquiry than has occurred in the past of the normative structure of criminal acts. The pervasiveness of certain normative proscriptions throughout all societies may be accounted for more understandably by reference to common organizational necessities than by appeal to the existence of a system of absolute norms. By such reinterpretations and qualifications a reader who does not share the theological convictions of the writer may still derive much stimulation from this vigorous

attack on the positivist tradition in criminological theory and research.

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An Introduction to Sociology. By GLADYS SELLEW, PAUL HANLY FURFEY, and WILLIAM T. GAUGHAN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1958. x, 598 pp. $6.50.

Man and Modern Society. By ROLLO E. WICKS. Foreword by L. L. JARVIE. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1958. ix, 462 pp. $6.00.

An Introduction to Sociology is in all major respects but one a conventional first-course treatment of the field. It begins with some discussion of the nature of sociology as a discipline and with an emphasis on society as the proper focus of sociological study. Part II deals with culture and cultural change, while Part III lumps together chapters on personality and on the psychological mechanisms of behavior with chapters on the group, the crowd and the public, and social stratification. This is followed by sections on social interaction and social processes, social institutions, and population, ecology, and the community.

On the whole, the treatment is heavily descriptive and lacking in theoretical and conceptual concern. For example, the terms "norm" and "role" are frequently used but nowhere subjected to systematic scrutiny. Other shortcomings are even more apparent. First, no mention is made of Weber, Parsons, Freud, G. H. Mead, and a variety of others, while Durkheim and Merton receive one paragraph each. Second, the chapters on institutions suffer from a general inattention to the systems of roles and relations that operate them, while the materials on groups and stratification are theoretically and empirically inadequate. Finally, some of the more significant, newer developments are largely ignored: reference group behavior, formal and informal organization, the mass media, voting, etc.

On the positive side are the clarity of the writing and the attention to points frequently glossed over in introductory texts. Among these are the role of unions in economic and social life, the internal differentiation and even conflict which characterize modern society, and the view that social stability and organization are not necessarily ends in themselves.

The one major respect in which this text differs from most others is in being "frankly and intentionally a Catholic treatment." Large portions are identical with those appearing in other texts, but at certain points—above all, in discussions touching upon marriage and birth control—there are important differences of substance and interpretation. Several more general matters also deserve mention: the teleological use of the concept of function, the repeated insistence upon such notions as free will and the failure to demonstrate their relevance or validity in a scientific context, and the authors' not infrequent violation of their own *caveat* to make assumptions and value judgments explicit. (While this is not true with regard to the relation between church and state it is uniformly marked in the case of sex and the family.)

Man and Modern Society is quite a different book. Aimed largely at the student in the two-year college, it undertakes to provide him with a better understanding of modern (primarily American) "technological society." While not intended as a survey of the social sciences, it makes some use of their data and concepts. Part One describes the "foundations" of society —biological, physical, cultural, and scientific and technological—and Part Two deals with the major social institutions. Part Three, constituting over half the book, discusses a variety of economic, political, and human problems.

Generally, the treatment of these materials is so far-ranging that it tends strongly toward superficiality and oversimplification. This is evident in the style of writing, in the Questions and Problems sections concluding each chapter, and in certain main points of interpretation. For example, suggestions for the resolution of conflicting economic interests within American society are put forward with such reasonableness (on an "if only" basis) that the persistence of these conflicts becomes more puzzling than ever. Also, the running together of descriptive statements, general concepts, divergent viewpoints, guides to self-help, exhortations, and the author's own opinions are bound to reduce the value of each. Finally, most of the factual materials are discursively narrated rather than presented through actual citations of fact or through excerpts from empirical sources.

As a result, the student is exposed to a variety of ideas, problems, and controversies, yet he is provided with few hard data and with few tools and concepts of interpretation. One likely consequence is to accentuate the very limitations of knowledge and judgment with which the book is designed to cope.

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BOOK NOTES

Rural Sociology: A trend report and bibliography. By T. LYNN SMITH. Prepared for the International Sociological Association with the support of the International Committee for Social Sciences Documentation. *Current Sociology,* Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 5–75. Paris: UNESCO, 1957. UNESCO Publications Center, 801 3rd Ave., N. Y. 22. $1.25, paper.

In his short fourteen page trend report, subtitled "Rural Sociology in the United States and Canada," Professor Smith surveys the rise and development of the sociology of rural life as a field of sociological inquiry from its genesis in the late nineteenth century to its present-day position as an important and integral part of the whole discipline of sociology.

This survey focuses on three periods of historical developments: (1) the early origins, interests, and development of rural sociology up to the twenties; (2) a decade of "progress and growing pains" to 1929 and a fifteen-year "period of maturation" to 1945; and (3) an analysis of recent trends spanning the years 1946–1956. In each period the major contributions are analyzed with respect to the role each played in molding the sociology of rural life as a distinct field of sociological inquiry.

An integral part of the report is an excellent annotated bibliography of the major works in each of the three periods mentioned above. These 597 items alone are worth the nominal price of the publication.

The subtitle of the report (Rural Sociology in the United States and Canada) is somewhat misleading. Except for a half-dozen items in the bibliography and a one-sentence paragraph in the text, the report relates almost entirely to the United States.

In closing, Professor Smith states that "A great effort to systematize the results of the research that has been done in the field of rural sociology is the greatest need of the discipline as we approach the year 1960." The International Committee for Social Sciences Documentation and Professor T. Lynn Smith are to be commended for laying the groundwork for a step in this direction.—JAMES N. YPSILANTIS

Little Business in the American Economy. By JOSEPH D. PHILLIPS. Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. 42. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958. ix, 135 pp. $2.50, paper.

With few exceptions sociologists have paid too little attention to the still substantial number of American small businessmen, defined in this study as those who employ fewer than four employees. In 1948 there were almost three million such small-scale entrepreneurs. This analysis is focused primarily upon economic questions and offers little that is new or particularly penetrating. Nevertheless in summarizing a considerable array of data it suggests important sociological problems. The distinguishing features of the small business—little or no hired help, "direct participation by the proprietor in the work process," no managerial specialization, inability to save, and a primary concern with securing a family subsistence—suggest key elements in the small businessman's role and point to problems he faces. Chapter IV explores the forces and mechanisms which limit the "entrepreneurial" aspects of that role. The concluding chapter examines the loss of effective power by small business as a class and concludes that it is unlikely that there is any "real solution to the small business problem."—E. C.

Political Sociology: An essay and bibliography. By REINHARD BENDIX and SEYMOUR M. LIPSET. Prepared for the International Sociological Association, with the support of the International Committee for Social Sciences Documentation. *Current Sociology,* Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 79–169. Paris: UNESCO, 1957. UNESCO Publications Center, 801 3rd Ave., N. Y. 22. $1.25, paper.

Like the man who was startled to learn that he had been speaking prose all his life, many readers of this publication will be surprised to find that they are political sociologists. Followers of the discipline, according to Professors Bendix and Lipset, are interested in voting behavior, political decision-making, ideologies, political movements, interest groups, political parties, bureaucracy, etc. So are many other social scientists. This fact is clearly reflected in the classified and annotated bibliography which constitutes the bulk of this work. Many of the more than 800 titles are by political scientists, psychologists, economists, anthropologists, social workers, and others. While the interdisciplinary character of this bibliography contributes heavily to its value, it also raises serious doubts about the existence of political sociology as a discipline.

A major portion of Bendix and Lipset's introductory essay is devoted to this problem. "The common denominator of studies in political sociology," we are told, "consists in a refined 'interest-theory' of political behavior

and in a commitment to the values of democratic institutions." It is concerned with "the place of self-interest in social life" and the "maximizing and calculating" efforts of individuals—considerations often ignored in sociology (garden variety), psychology, and anthropology. These disciplines relegate politics to the role of dependent variable; political scoiology, on the other hand, is committed to the idea that "politics is not an epiphenomenon." But so, too, is political science. The authors' statement that "political science starts with the state and examines how it affects society, while political sociology starts with society and examines how it affects the state . . ." is not persuasive.

But no matter what this body of literature is called, its quantity and quality are impressive. Professors Bendix and Lipset have provided a useful overview and guide to recent, systematic research on politics.—DONALD R. MATTHEWS.

Industrial Relations in Postwar Japan. By SOLOMON B. LEVINE. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958. xiii, 200 pp. $4.25.

This study, by an industrial relations expert familiar with the Japanese language, is a part of the great outpouring of scholarship on Japan in this post-war period. Before the war there were but a handful of scholars on Japan and for the most part they did not handle the language. Further, they were Japanologists, that is to say, generalists covering broad phases of the Japanese culture. Today, one finds specialists in different fields of study pursuing their specialization in the Japan case just as has been done with respect to European countries.

One finds in this study a most useful summary of the development of the trade union movement in Japan. Inasmuch as post-war trade union events have been shifting and highly confusing, this is no small contribution. The study also details the structure and functions of the movement as well as providing chapter and verse on collective bargaining and labor disputes. It further provides a summary of present welfare legislation. The bibliography is excellent. Although this reviewer would differ with certain of Professor Levine's conclusions, the study represents a real contribution to scholarship in a field which has been seriously "underdeveloped."—ELEANOR M. HADLEY

Druga Rewolucja Przemyslowa [*The Second Industrial Revolution*]. By FELIKS GROSS. Paris: Édition La Lumière "Swiatlo," 1958. 271 pp. No price indicated, paper.

This book is intended as "a tract for our time" and advocates a revision of the standard socialist, i.e. Marxist, ideas in the light of the technological and political developments of the last three decades. In a highly intelligent and well-informed manner Professor Gross analyzes current problems in the light of socialist ideals. He advocates a new doctrine which he calls Humanistic Socialism to replace its materialistic counterpart. The doctrine, contrary to Marx, puts the dignity and freedom of the individual above the interest of the state, cooperation and internationalism above the class-struggle and war, and the creative powers of the human mind against the domination of technology. The author, who is a distinguished Polish socialist, is well informed on current affairs and skillfully uses sociological findings in his interpretation. His comparison of democratic trends in Europe and America is illuminating. Among other things, it shows how the experience with fascism and communism has brought the European workers' movement closer to the American form of socialism.—THEODORE ABEL

Population: An International Dilemma. By FREDERICK OSBORN. A Summary of the Proceedings of the Conference Committee on Population Problems—1956–1957. New York: The Population Council, 1958. ix, 97 pp. $2.00.

Over a period of a year and a half a committee of leading experts in several related fields met from time to time "in the hope that it might be possible to develop a common understanding of how best to approach the problems of world population growth" (p. vii). In addition to eleven regular participants, twenty-three others prepared papers or took part in the discussions. The present volume condenses into less than one hundred small pages the proceedings of these conferences. It is a cogent statement, urgent without being shrill, unusually comprehensive in the range of topics considered, sometimes almost too compact. Though there will not be universal agreement on every one of its propositions, it will serve as an excellent introduction to the population problem, emphasizing the need for more knowledge and for widespread cooperation in attempts to find solutions for existing and potential difficulties.

Among the points made are these: non-Western religions present problems for the development of population control that may differ in degree but not in kind from those met in the West; introduction of population control in non-Western countries will require the support of educated indigenous leadership, and will be most effectively channeled through programs designed to improve public health and family welfare; in the long run, population growth in the advanced countries may become a major

source of anxiety for the less developed parts of the world.—G. F. M.

Subregional Migration in the United States, 1935–40. Volume I: *Streams of Migration Between Subregions: A Pilot Study of Migration Flows Between Environments.* By DONALD J. BOGUE, HENRY S. SHRYOCK, JR., and SIEGFRIED A. HOERMANN. Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation, Miami University, 1957. vi, 333 pp. No price indicated.

Components of Population Change, 1940–50: Estimates of Net Migration and Natural Increase for Each Standard Metropolitan Area and State Economic Area. By DONALD J. BOGUE. Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems jointly with Population Research and Training Center, University of Chicago, 1957. v, 145 pp. $3.75, paper.

Much careful work on the part of some of the most expert demographers in the United States went into the preparation of these two volumes. The first of the two is, of course, based upon data collected in the 1940 Census in which a sample of the population was queried about their place of residence in 1935 and this information was then cross-tabulated with that pertaining to their actual residence in 1940. One of the more important sections of this monograph is Chapter IV which consists of a critical appraisal of "The Quality of the 1940 Census Data on Migration." The titles of the seven other chapters in Part I of the volume convey an accurate concept of its principal contents. They are as follows: "Some Basic Concepts and Methodological Principles of Migration Research," "The Total Residential Mobility of the United States Population," "The Population Subregions and the Migration Data Tabulated for Them," "Subregional Variations in Migration: 1935–40," "Streams of Migration in Relation to Urban and Rural Residence," "A Regression Analysis of Factors Explaining the Size and Composition of Migration Streams," and "Migration Patterns within Economic Regions." Part II is devoted to basic statistics, and it makes up the bulk of the study. Two appendixes present information about "The Identification of State Subregions and Counties Contained in Each State Subregion," and "Zero Order Correlation Matrix," respectively.

The decade 1940–50 is the first "full intercensal period of birth and death statistics for the entire nation, with estimates of completeness of birth registration for both the beginning and the terminal years. When used in conjunction with the 1940 and 1950 censuses, these statistics provide all the information necessary to study the population growth of small areas in terms of its components: *reproductive change* ('natural increase') and *migration.*" This is the task to which Bogue set himself in the study reported upon in the second of the volumes under consideration in this review. It consists largely of the values derived from an elaborate set of computations. A very brief Part I describes "The Components of Population Change and How They Were Measured," gives the "Components of Population Change for State Economic Areas and Standard Metropolitan Areas," and presents the general picture of "The Components of Population Change for Standard Metropolitan Areas (and Central Cities and Rings) by Age and Color." Part II, which forms the bulk of the volume, is devoted to "Statistics for Individual Areas."

The authors and the institutions they represent have done great service to demographers in the United States by making available to them the detailed results of so many time-consuming calculations and by outlining the theoretical context in which these materials may be used.—T. LYNN SMITH

The University Teaching of Social Sciences: Demography. Edited by D. V. GLASS. A survey prepared under the auspices of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population. Paris: UNESCO, 1957. 200 pp. $2.00, paper.

One of a UNESCO series on "Teaching in the Social Sciences," this volume begins with a survey of the nature of demography, the organization and objectives of instruction in demography in various countries, and general considerations to be taken into account in connection with programs of demographic teaching. The remaining three-quarters of the text consists of thirteen reports by individual authors, each of whom describes the existing situation in his own country or area of the world. These accounts are highly uneven in length and content, apparently reflecting not only differences in demographic teaching from one country to another, but differences in the interpretations placed by the rapporteurs on their task, and in the information available to them.

Members of the demographic profession concerned with the provision of adequate training in demography, whether as part of general education or as preparation for work in the field, will find Part I a thoughtful preliminary attempt to formulate the problems involved. The principal conclusion suggested there is that although ways must be found of assuring that demographic teaching is not neglected or made un-

duly subordinate to any one traditional discipline, the establishment of demography as a separate unit in the academic structure is likely to be a rare occurrence, limited to special instances, of which France may be one, that are particularly favorable for such an arrangement. Non-demographers who teach courses in population may find suggestions for the enrichment of their offerings, especially in some of the longer individual reports. For sociologists in general, the book will perforce have rather limited usefulness.—G. F. M.

War Blinded Veterans in a Postwar Setting. Veterans Administration. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1958. xiv, 260 pp. $1.50.

The Foreword states, "The subtitle *A Social Work Followup of Rehabilitation Measures for Blinded Veterans with Service-connected Disabilities between December 7, 1941 and March 31, 1953* gives the terms of reference and limitation of this study." Of the 1,988 blinded veterans known to be living outside VA hospitals or domiciliaries, 1,949 were interviewed by 386 VA medical social workers. The original data included some 100 items on each subject and some 300 tables. The present report contains 90 tables of two types: descriptive data and interviewers' evaluations. From this mass of material, it is readily apparent that the government's policy of rehabilitation and resocialization of blinded veterans has been proved valid. Given a minimum economic security through disability compensation and rehabilitation training for the reorganization of their lives, the subjects have the following characteristics: most of them are working a 40 hour week or longer; they got their jobs through their own efforts; they are married and have dependent children; they own their own homes; they can cope with community attitudes toward blindness; they have a positive view of life. Though methodologically the report leaves something to be desired, the richness of the data and its implications for a new concept of social welfare for the disabled leave us in its debt. Its importance will become apparent to sociologists when further and more rigorously designed studies are made.—MILTON D. GRAHAM

Race and Ethnic Relations. By BREWTON BERRY. Second Edition of *Race Relations.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958. x, 559 pp. $6.50.

This book makes the same kind of impact on the general reader in 1958 as the first edition preceding it in 1951. Chatty, informal, easy to read and voluminously illustrated, it is also a *real* revision, since the increasing literature in the field is scrupulously included. The most dubious omission from the American point of view is the neglect of the Puerto Ricans who receive practically no attention though they now outnumber the Indians to whom Professor Berry devotes a great deal of his volume. Happily, the book includes much on intergroup action programs that was missing in the earlier treatment. However, new theoretical developments, especcially in the area of power relations or conflict, seem to have had little influence on the author's thinking so that his book appears curiously advanced factually but dated theoretically. Taxonomy, using "standard concepts," is no longer sufficient, even in textbooks.—R. A. SCHERMERHORN.

Nomades Noirs du Sahara. By JEAN CHAPELLE. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1948. 449 pp. No price indicated, paper.

This careful, detailed anthropological study of the Toubous, the black nomads occupying the arid valleys in the Tchad area of the Sahara, was begun in 1930. Numbering some 195,000 in all, 95 per cent of whom live on French soil, these intensely energetic, independent, and individualistic people have been very little known or understood. This volume, the 10th in a series "Recherches en Sciences Humaines," not only contributes to an understanding of the Toubou people and their way of life but suggests, in an interesting final chapter, the acculturative problems which the French colonial administration should bear in mind if the primitive but highly adaptive Toubou culture is not to be destroyed. A comparison of their moral values with those of the West shows how incomprehensible to the Toubou are the Code Napoleon and the French legal code. Their pastoral economy suffers from boundary lines and customs duties laid down by an administration ignorant of the Toubou milieu. Administrators who are willing to get into the Toubou mentality by familiarizing themselves through practice with the nomadic life are recommended. The plea is strong for avoiding making a *tabula rasa* of Toubou culture as the West inevitably impinges on this hitherto isolated people scattered over a desert area in extent one-quarter the size of France.—MARRARET ALEXANDER MARSH

Hindu Character (A Few Glimpses). By DHIRENDRA NARAIN. University of Bombay Publications, Sociology Series, No. 8. Bombay: University of Bombay, 1957. v, 238 pp. Rs. 14.00.

This work, the author's doctoral dissertation, seeks to gain insight into the character of

Hindu Indians through analyses of the *Bagavagita*, popular Indian films, and a collection of Indian proverbs. There is also a brief discussion of Hindu childhood and a comparison of Hindu institutions and character traits with those of China as described by Lin Yutang. The author makes use of a wide variety of literature from any fields to supplement his analyses and concludes that "the stereotype of the Hindus as passive, mild, etc." is basically valid. His theoretical orientation is a loose, psychologically oriented eclecticism which appears to attach little importance to the effects of social structure or economics. This omission together with the author's unfettered impressionism badly clouds such glimpses of Hindu character as are provided.—MARC J. SWARTZ

Existence: A New Dimension in Psychiatry and Psychology. Edited by ROLLO MAY, ERNEST ANGEL, and HENRI F. ELLENBERGER. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1958. ix, 445 pp. $7.50.

The body of this book consists of three papers on Phenomenology and four on Existential Analysis (Sartre's brand of French existentialism is not represented). Binswanger, Swiss high priest of Existential Analysis, is the largest contributor with three papers. Ellenberger, in an introductory chapter, presents a lucid historical and synoptic introduction—the best available in English—to existentialism in European psychiatry. Existentialism escapes the philosophical dichotomy of the *person* as subject versus the *thing* of the external world as object by postulating the *existence*, incorporating both person and world, as the primal entity of analysis. In psychiatry, existentialism emphasizes accurate documentation of the phenomena of existence and description of their conjunction into a unified whole. Existence in time and space recieves special attention. The future is no less important than the past. The forward look into the future gives existential analysis a point of affinity with Jung and of divergence from Freud. Though not incompatible with Freudianism, existentialism challenges psychoanalysis with a new set of categories. Doubtless this challenge will benefit American psychiatry, despite the perils of existentialist gobbledygook and of apocalyptic propositions that defy operational testing. In psychology, existentialism may find a welcome in the clinic, but hardly in the laboratory. From its beginnings with Kierkegaard, existentialism has been expounded mainly by philosophers, theologians, and psychotherapists.—JOHN MONEY

Psychotherapy by Reciprocal Inhibition. By JOSEPH WOLPE. Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1958. xiv, 239 pp. $5.00.

Wolpe is a South African psychiatrist who relies on Hullian learning theory to develop a scientific basis for the understanding of neurosis. He rejects psychoanalytic theory and emphasizes retroactive inhibition, which is currently considered a very minor aspect of learning theory.

Wolpe's patients learn new responses to anxiety-provoking stimuli. These new responses must be antagonistic to the anxiety. As the bond between the new responses and the original stimuli is strengthened, that of anxiety to these stimuli is weakened. A number of cases of experimental neurosis in animals are examined in terms of drive reduction and reenforcement theory. The author's explanation of these phenomena is not satisfactory because in any situation various drives must be operating simultaneously and often his focus on a particular drive appears arbitrary. And while he agrees that neurotic (anxiety) responses are unadaptive, his explanation of their persistence is devious and unconvincing.

He stresses the importance of the current life situations of patients. What must be dealt with in the treatment is the tendency of these situations to evoke anxiety. The therapist uses various techniques to help the patient make responses that inhibit the previously learned anxiety response. "As much pressure as seems necessary is applied to motivate the actual performance of the requisite behavior in appropriate circumstance." The main responses that Wolpe seeks to develop are assertive and sexual responses. In some cases a mild electric shock or hypnotism is used to evoke the required motor response. In other cases patients are given specific instructions on how to behave in the anxiety-provoking situations so that responses "antagonistic" to the anxiety can occur. From the material presented Wolpe appears to be a forceful, rather effective authority figure and one wonders whether suggestion was not a major factor in the actual reduction of the anxiety as well as in the evocation of the "requisite behavior."

In Wolpe's series of 210 neurotic patients 89.4 per cent are reported as either "apparently cured" or "much improved." All the patients were selected, treated and the success of treatment evaluated by Wolpe himself. While he is aware of the problems this presents it does lead to considerable skepticism about the findings. The book is also disappointing as a representative of contemporary behavioral science because of the lack of clarity of some of the theoretical arguments.—THOMAS F. A. PLAUT

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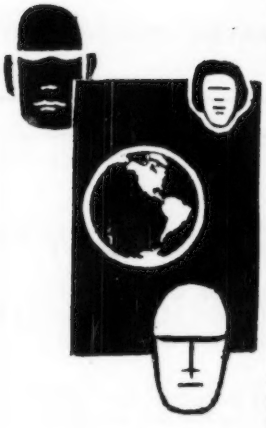
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